1995

An Evaluation of a Program for Incarcerated Mothers: Parenting Training and the Enhancement of Self-Esteem

Alvin R. Moore
Virginia Commonwealth University

An Evaluation of a Program for Incarcerated Mothers: Parenting Training and the Enhancement of Self-Esteem

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Public Administration at Virginia Commonwealth University.

BY

Alvin Reid Moore
Master of Arts, Pacific Lutheran University, 1978
Bachelor of Arts, Fayetteville State University, 1975

Director: Mary J. Clement, JD/MSW, Ph.D.
Department of Criminal Justice

Virginia Commonwealth University
Richmond, Virginia
May, 1995

Acknowledgment

It is with a great sense of gratitude and thanksgiving that I have arrived to this point in my education. As a disadvantaged black youth, I had many hopes and aspirations but few resources. Many individuals along the way influenced me and taught be not to limit myself or allow myself to be limited by others or situations unnecessarily.

I recall my early years when the most successful members of my community were a minister, and a school teacher. I was never personally close to either of them so I drew strength from other individuals who had little formal education. The qualities that were most in abundance in my community were those of a good sound character and determination to improve conditions.

Among the people who influenced me most was my mother, Rev. Bessie Moore, who, despite periods of poverty and despair, instilled in me the ability to transcend adversity. To her, I offer this accomplishment as a testament of my appreciation of her many sacrifices for me and the entire family.

In the world of work, to this point, I have been fortunate to have worked with several professionals who focused on my strengths and offered encouragement and opportunity to me. In the mental health field, I owe a debt

of gratitude to Dr. Michael Quirk and Dr. William Desmond. Their contributions came decades apart, but at strategic points they provided me the opportunity to focus my thoughts and to cross some of my more crucial hurdles. A special thanks goes to Dr. Desmond for his timely counsel on how to cope with the rigors and frustrations of the dissertation process. In corrections, I must thank Mr. Fred Jordan for providing me an opportunity to become an administrator, for without that opportunity this accomplishment may not have been possible.

The Faculty at the Virginia Commonwealth University have been both challenging and supportive. I received tremendous counsel, and when I came up against seemingly insurmountable obstacles, a faculty member would go the extra mile for me. Dr. Mary clement, my chairperson, was a great support to me throughout the dissertation process. A special thanks goes to Dr. Michael Joyce Sheridan for her untiring support and productive critics. She guided me through some of my most difficult hurdles. My deep appreciation is also extended to the other members of my dissertation committee, namely, Dr. Ralph Hambrick, Dr. Anthony L. Guenther, and Dr. Amin Alimard, for their excellent counsel and encouragement.

A very special thanks goes to Mrs. Johanna Shuchert for her years of service to the inmate mothers at the Virginia Correctional Center for Women. Her work has given hope to many inmate mothers estranged from their children due to

incarceration.

Last, but not least, a special appreciation is extended to my family for their love, patience, concern, and support. My wife, Armenta (Peggy), and my daughter, Erica, have suffered with me every step of the way and deserve to feel gratified as this endeavor is completed. My wife offered encouragement when I needed it most and always seemed to understand when I had reached my "absolute limit." Erica did so much for me by giving me a smile just at the right time. I love you both dearly. This has truly been a family affair.

I dedicate this dissertation to all of the individuals mentioned above and many others not mentioned. There also have been many inmates from whom I have gained substance for my continual development and they too are appreciated. I thank God for his divine providence. It is my firm desire that I give back to my fellow man at least some of that which has been given to me.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Abstract

AN EVALUATION OF A PROGRAM FOR INCARCERATED MOTHERS: PARENTING TRAINING AND THE ENHANCEMENT OF SELF-ESTEEM

Alvin Reid Moore, DPA

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Public Administration at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Virginia Commonwealth University, 1995.

Major Director: Mary J. Clement, JD/MSW, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Department of Criminal Justice.

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of parenting training on the acquisition of parenting skills and its impact on self-esteem of incarcerated mothers. The program under study is the "Mothers Inside Loving Kids" (M.I.L.K.) Program, which is a holistic training/visitation program designed for incarcerated mothers.

Study participants included 40 volunteer incarcerated mothers at the Virginia Correctional Center for Women. The treatment group consisted of 20 participants who were already involved in the "M.I.L.K." program. The comparison group was made up of 20 mothers who were on the waiting list for the program due to the lack of space.

All participants were administered a battery of pre-tests and post-tests. Instruments utilized for the study included the Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory (AAPI), the Nurturing Quiz, the Index of Self-Esteem (ISE), and a participant satisfaction survey.

Bivariate analyses were used to test the differences between pre-test and post-test mean scores. Both parametric and non-parametric tests were conducted to determine if change scores revealed significant differences. Using independent t-tests to determine if there were significant differences between treatment and comparison groups on change scores, no significant differences were noted. However, in reviewing the direction of change scores for the two groups, the treatment group did show changes in the desired direction in four areas. Specifically, positive directional change occurred on the "Lack of Empathy for the Child" sub-scale, the "Belief in Corporal Punishment" sub-scale, the "Reversing Family Roles" sub-scale, and on the "Nurturing Quiz."

Using the Wilcoxon non-parametric test, one measure revealed statistically significant differences between pre-test and post-test scores. Specifically, participants in the treatment group revealed significantly higher scores on the "Nurturing Quiz" at post-testing from pre-testing ($z = -2.81$, $p = .005$). This indicates an overall increase in knowledge about positive child management techniques. No significant pre-test to post-test differences were noted in any of the remaining areas under study. However, positive directional change scores were noted in the three different areas of "Inappropriate Expectations of the Child", "Nurturing" and "Self-Esteem."

Overall, the findings suggest that the M.I.L.K. Program training positively impacts parenting techniques. Self-esteem

appears to be more difficult to impact.

Chapter I

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Purpose of Dissertation

This study will examine the impact on program participants of the M.I.L.K. (Mothers Inside Loving Kids) program of the Virginia Correctional Center for Women. M.I.L.K. is a holistic parenting training/visitation program designed for incarcerated mothers. It was developed and implemented in 1981 at the Virginia Correctional Center for Women (VCCW) by three inmates and the institutional chaplain, under the sponsorship of Parents Anonymous. M.I.L.K. was cited by the Virginia State Crime Commission (1993) as a nonprofit program operating in Virginia that is being emulated by persons in other states because it has received high marks from inmates and correctional officials alike (Virginia House Doc No. 24, 1993). M.I.L.K., now sponsored by Virginians for Child Abuse Prevention, enables women at VCCW to access badly needed parenting skills and enjoy expanded interaction with their children. However, as the Crime Commission reports, M.I.L.K. is only able to serve a relatively small portion of the total inmate population at the Women's Center (Virginia House Bill No. 24, 1993). This statement points to the need to evaluate this program. If the proposed evaluation of the M.I.L.K. program reveals positive findings, decision makers will have documented evidence to support program expansion.

Nature of the Targeted Population

Increase in Incarceration of Women

It is important to get a comprehensive perspective on the nature of the problems facing incarcerated mothers before focusing specifically on the M.I.L.K. program. At the turn of the century, women who committed offenses did not come into the criminal justice system in the same numbers for committing the same offenses as did men (Clement, 1992). For example, the arrest rate for women was 1 to every 50-60 males. However, the number of women incarcerated in federal, state, and local correctional facilities in the United States has increased dramatically in the past 15 years (Gordan, 1991). From 1974 to 1985 the rate of increase was 17 percent. In a somewhat broader context, the number of female prisoners has increased fivefold in less than twenty-five years, from about 6,000 in 1972 to more than 32,000 in 1989 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1989).

Thus, while the "population explosion" has been the theme for all of corrections, the female inmate population has experienced a greater increase nationally in percentage than the male offender population every year since 1981 (Gordan, 1991:3). The Department of Justice reports that since 1980 the number of female inmates in America has increased by 138 percent, while the number of male inmates grew by 94 percent. More recent statistics (National Women's Law Center, 1993)

show that between 1980 and 1992, the growth rate for the female prison population increased approximately 275 percent for women (from 13,420 to 50,409) compared to 160 percent for men (316,401 to 833,184).

It is noteworthy that this prison population explosion disproportionately involves minority women. As is true for black men, black women are overrepresented as inmates in relation to their numbers in the population at large. Survey results from several representative states reveal that even though blacks constitute approximately 11 percent of the national female population, they constitute 50 percent of the female prison population. Hispanics who comprise approximately 5 percent of the adult population of women, make up 9 percent of incarcerated women. White women constitute 82 percent of the female population at large, but make up only 36 percent of women in prison (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1988).

The rapid increase in the overall number of women inmates, coupled with the disproportionate numbers of minority women, is creating concern for this historically invisible segment of the prison population and increasing awareness of its special problems (Inglehart & Stein, 1985:152). In particular, it is becoming apparent that women are being incarcerated in a system that was originally developed for men; a situation that increases the likelihood of discrimination and disparity of services. In addressing

discriminatory treatment of women in penal institutions, Lawrence Bershad (1985) pointed out that the correctional system has long been male dominated. He notes that the rules, structured programs, and standard operating procedures of the system were adopted and implemented on the assumption that they were to be largely applied to male prisoners. The result, however benign and unintentional, has been the discriminatory treatment of female offenders (Bershad, 1985:401).

Specifically, most states have only one prison for women. While men can be assigned to various prisons based upon the severity of their offense, security risk or rehabilitative needs, all women are grouped together in one institution regardless of their special needs or problems. Having only one institution for women gives rise to a host of inequities. Areas of disparity include, but are not limited to, vocational training, recreational opportunities, and medical care. Chapman (1980) portrays a picture of the adult woman offender population, for the most part, as being young, poor, undereducated, unemployed mothers who are heads of households - single parents. Successful reintegration of offenders depends in part upon providing education and training programs that teach the skills necessary for obtaining gainful employment upon release (Bershad, 1985:411), but such programs may not be available for female inmates. In women's prisons,

if educational training exists, it generally is in the substantially less financially rewarding areas of housekeeping, cosmetology, food service, nurse's aide, and secretarial training (Gabel, 1982:51).

Another factor that negatively impacts the female prisoner has to do with where the prison is located. The location of institutions and the institution's visiting procedures also reflect disparate treatment of women inmates compared to men. In most states the singular nature of female institutions make visitation more problematic for female inmates than for male inmates. Often, institutions for women are located in remote areas where the female inmates have more limited access to family, friends, and attorneys than the access available to male inmates who are incarcerated near their home communities (Crites, 1976:123). This is particularly important because maintenance of strong family relationships can foster rehabilitation within the prison environment and successful reintegration into the community upon release (Holt & Miller, 1972:61).

A profile of female inmates, based on comparisons with their male counterparts, was constructed by the Rand Corporation in 1979. The 1979 nationwide self-report survey of 11,397 inmates in state prisons, 2,255 of them women, found that for 52 of the 65 analyses conducted (80 percent), significant differences between women and men prisoners became

evident. The study suggests that female and male prisoners basically differ from one another in terms of personal characteristics, current offense and sentence, probation and incarceration history, conformity to prison rules, prison recreation and work activities, and interaction with family members and friends outside prison (Goetting & Howsen, 1983). These differences suggest the need for gender-specific approaches to program design and resource allocation. A case in point is the Virginia Correctional Center for Women (VCCW). In a recent report by the Virginia State Crime Commission (1993) it was suggested that the long term underfunding of the women's prison has served to limit Virginia's female prison inmates in ways that male inmates do not experience. Therefore, the lack of funding for innovative programming specifically geared to the needs of women inmates is an issue that is now being recognized (Virginia House Document No. 24, 1993).

Special Problems and Needs of Incarcerated Mothers

Impact on Mothering Role

Despite the increase in female incarceration, there historically has been little interest in what happens to women once they come to the attention of law enforcement and enter the criminal justice system (Chesney-Lind, 1978:17). An area of particular concern is the effect of incarceration on women's role as mothers. While inmate fathers also must

suffer separation from family members, it is not considered to approximate the impact that separation from children has on inmate mothers. In this respect, imprisonment has a disproportionately greater effect on women than on men (Bershad, 1985:407).

Socialization theory provides a conceptual framework for understanding this differential impact of incarceration on women. A major premise of this theory is that males and females are socialized to perform adult social roles and it is through this interaction process that one develops a "social self" (LeFlore & Holston, 1990:5). The formation of the "social self" begins at a very early age. Paramount among these social roles for the female is "mother." This process includes development of a complex set of attitudes, behaviors, and rationales that facilitate conformity to society in general and success as a mother in particular (LeFlore & Holston, 1990:5).

Furthermore, parenting is viewed in our society primarily as a female activity (Petros, 1975; Komarovsky, 1976; Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983). The mother is expected to be the child's primary psychological parent, assuming major emotional responsibility for the safety and upbringing of children (Wortis, 1974). As such, the parental role has certain behavioral and emotional expectations, including:

1. nurturing and provision of physical care

2. training and channeling of psychological needs in toilet training, weaning, solid foods, etc.
3. teaching and skill training in language, perceptual skills, physical skills, self-care skills in order to facilitate care, ensure safety, etc.
4. orienting the child to his immediate world of kin, neighborhood, community, and society and to his own feelings.
5. transmitting cultural and subcultural goals and values and motivating the child to accept them for his own.
6. promoting interpersonal skills, motives, and modes of feeling and behavior in relation to others.
7. guiding, correcting, helping the child to formulate his own goals and plan his own activities (Clausen, 1968).

Incarceration affects the ability of the inmate mother to continue with the fulfillment of these parenting tasks. Even though incarcerated mothers have good intentions of continuing contact with their children, most lose awareness of the childrens' activities. Although she is subject to the same confinement produced deprivations and discomforts that face all institutionalized offenders, she must additionally confront and manage the problems that result from her separation, and often isolation, from her children (McCarthy,

1980:199). Baunach (1984) studied the effects of the separation from their children on 138 mothers incarcerated in prisons in Washington State and Kentucky. The results of her study revealed that regardless of race or age, women expressed guilt and shame that they committed crimes that separated them from their children.

The intensity of the emotional pains of separation may be even more severe for women who are pregnant when incarcerated. These women must bear their children while incarcerated generally at a nearby hospital. They must relinquish their child to a family member, a foster care agency, or adoption agency within a few days after delivery. The effect of this separation (Moyer, 1985:99) may be severe depression, shock, or loss of self-esteem.

Of the variety of difficulties that may confront the inmate mother, perhaps the most critical problem she may encounter is the temporary or permanent loss of legal custody of her children (McCarthy, 1980). However, in most cases, the children can be placed with the inmate's family while the mother is incarcerated. A minority of children are taken into state custody, either because no relative is available to provide child care or because welfare agency personnel conclude that the interest of the child requires care by the state (Yale Law Journal, 1978). However, regardless of the eventual outcome, the threat of loss of custody of one's

children is a constant source of anxiety for the incarcerated mother.

Finally, as reported by Beckerman (1989) the strain of separation often becomes pronounced upon release when, in addition to the financial, occupational, residential, and social pressure a mother faces, she must also attempt to reestablish a relationship with her children. Oftentimes upon release, the mother finds that her children have grown and changed in her absence, and have adjusted to new settings and caretakers. These changes may create great difficulties for the mother who may find her children difficult to manage.

Beckerman (1989) stresses the importance of permanency planning in anticipating these stressful experiences by maintaining mother-child contact during the period of incarceration. Limited communication and interaction between the mother and her children along with active parenting roles provided by the caretaker may result in a loyalty shift by the children. McCarthy (1980) describes this as a change in the child's perception of the care giver as the "real" mother. Once released, this leads to the mother often having to prove to the child that she is the true mother. Dachlin & Hynes (1974) point out that the subsequent transition of responsibility and authority from the care giver to the natural mother can be a difficult process.

Taken together, separation from one's children as a

result of incarceration appears to have a variety of negative effects. Doubts about the quality of care being provided to their children, feelings of loss of control over their lives, and fears about losing the love and esteem of their children to substitute caretakers all create high levels of anxiety, self-doubt, and loss of self-identity and self-esteem in incarcerated mothers (Baunach, 1977; Gaudin, 1984). Thus, the importance of the maternal role, and the negative consequences of losing this role, should not be understated.

Negative Effects on Children

Beyond the negative impacts of imprisonment on female inmates are the additional adverse effects experienced by the children of incarcerated mothers. These children are said to be a hidden population (Rosenkrantz & Joshua, 1982:2). Glick (1977) found that of the approximately 25,000 sentenced women imprisoned in the United States each year, about 75 percent have children under age 18 (Glick & Neto, 1976:1). Likewise, during the same time period McGowan and Blumenthal (1976) estimated that there were 21,000 children in this country whose mothers were incarcerated on any one day.

More recent statistics show that there are now an estimated 1.5 million children of incarcerated parents in the United States. In California alone, the number is estimated to exceed 200,000 children (Bloom & Steinhart, 1993). The National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) estimated

that on any given day in 1991, there were approximately 167,000 children of women in adult prisons and jails throughout the United States. This represents approximately an eightfold increase over the 1976 estimate. NCCD further estimates that at least three-fourths of all these children, or more than 125,000, were under the age of 18 years of age. Mothers are needed to help children deal with stressful events and master trauma.

In Virginia, as in all other states, the number of children of incarcerated parents is growing in tandem with increased incarceration rates. In a 1993 report by the Virginia Commission on Youth it was found that Virginia has an estimated 13,704 children with incarcerated parents and an additional 16,990 children whose parents are under some correctional supervision. When added together, the report estimates that there are 30,694 minor children whose parents are involved in the criminal justice system (House Document No. 32, 1993). The majority of these children are cited as being between the ages of seven and twelve years old.

Trauma of Arrest and Trial Process

The initial trauma visited upon children occurs when the family member is arrested and arraigned. When the father is arrested he can usually rely on the mother to continue with child care without a total disruption of the child's environment. The arrest of the mother presents a far greater

problem because a great many women offenders are single parents. Alternate living arrangements must be found for the children left behind. In many cases, women will not inform arresting officers that they have children because they fear that the children will be taken and placed in foster homes (Dubose, 1977). This means that some children therefore come home to empty houses and are alone for hours and perhaps overnight before someone is alerted of the need to take over their care (Carroll, 1980). This situation generates fear for both the mother and children. In a Center for Children of Incarcerated Parents study (1992), it was concluded that children of offenders are traumatized by events related to crime and arrest.

Sometimes children are with their mothers when the crime is committed and when the arrest takes place. The degree of trauma of witnessing a crime and the arrest would depend heavily on the age of the child and their level of understanding of what was happening (Kiser, 1991). However, even grown children may find the crime and arrest/imprisonment a most unsettling experience.

Separation from Mother and Other Significant People

The trauma of initial separation gives way to the stress of adapting to new living situations. Eventually, most children are taken in by close relatives, usually the grandmother. A small number of children are placed in foster

care. Alternative child care arrangements may mean the separation of siblings in different homes for part or all of the period of incarceration (Dubose, 1977). Both the disruption in the child's physical environment and separation from siblings contribute to emotional turmoil already instigated by the loss of his/her mother (Deboash & Gutteridge, 1986; Fisman, 1983).

It is generally with the mother, in her role of main caretaker, that most children have their closest relationship. Therefore, separation from the mother is far more upsetting than from any other significant other. Shaw (1992) believes that the imprisonment of a parent will have profound effects on their relationships with their children and is likely to have indirect effects on their children's lives, as well. When children are cared for by their mother prior to incarceration, they are frequently subjected to major disruptions throughout the mother's incarceration. This includes at least one change of care giver, often involving a change of home environment (Shaw, 1992). Such disruptions may involve a change of geographical location for the child, resulting in a change of school, loss of friends, and the like.

General Emotional and Behavioral Consequences

The Center for Children of Incarcerated Parents study (1992) found that children of offenders are vulnerable as a

result of separation from their parents. One role of parents is to help children deal with stressful events and master trauma. When trauma involves parental loss, children lose their helper, and their ability to master trauma is seriously impaired.

Robbins and others (1976) examined the effects of parental absence on the behavior of adolescents. It was found that delinquency could be predicted from parental arrest records. Earlier research found that children of female offenders had problems such as withdrawal, acting "babyish", fearfulness, poor school performance, excessive crying and nightmares (Gabel, 1972). More recently researchers have documented a host of behavioral and psychological problems in children precipitated or aggravated by the imprisonment of parents. These later findings confirm earlier reports. Research conducted by Fritsch and Burkhead (1981) revealed a tendency toward withdrawal from play, reversion to infancy behaviors, deterioration of attitude toward performance in school, excessive crying, and scary dreams. Many children, even very young ones, tend to blame themselves for their mother's crime and incarceration (Kiser, 1991).

Impact on Infants and Preschool Children

The newborn infant must rely on those around him to meet his every need. Maximum growth, physically, emotionally, and intellectually, requires continuous and loving care. Babies

taken by well-intentioned, but already stressed, family members find it difficult to cope with the care of a young children. The basic trust in the environment, which must be learned during the first year, can develop only if the infant has a secure, continuous relationship with a primary person. It is possible for a temporary care-giver to provide the level of care a young infant needs. However, there is strong evidence to suggest that if a child is cared for by a number of "mother substitutes" and does not have a continuing, close relationship with one maternal figure, he/she is likely to develop later problems in trusting and relating to people (McGowan & Blumenthal, 1978:35).

Because of the inherent dependency of infants and young children and their need to develop attachments and to receive consistent, individualized attention, infants and small children who are separated from their mothers or primary caretakers during this period may be severely traumatized (Goldstein, Freud & Solnit, 1973:32).

School-Age Children

Emotionally healthy children between the age of six and preadolescence are expected to have achieved independence and stability. Yet, children of this age are still in the process of development and are highly impressionable. While in this age group the child needs to develop a sense of being a member of his community. The development of self-worth is linked to

the child's ability to cope with the world around him/her and the child's ability to give and receive love.

Separation from a parent figure has different consequences for children of this age than for younger children. For school-age children parental imprisonment most effects those achievements which are based on identification with the parents' demands, prohibitions, and social ideals. The child is likely to abandon those ideals if they feel abandoned by their responsible adults. Moreover, they may cease to identify with any set of substitute parents. It is believed that multiple placement at these ages puts many children beyond the reach of educational influence, and becomes the direct cause of behavior which the schools experience as disrupting and the courts label as dissocial, delinquent, or even criminal (Goldstein, Freud & Solnit, 1973:34).

Adolescents

Early adolescence is characterized by the young person being preoccupied with issues of emancipation, independence, and freedom from the family. In later adolescence there is a growing concern with questions about the future, and a further development of a sense of social role and personal purpose. Thus, their revolt against any parental authority is normal developmentally since it is the adolescent's way toward establishing his own independent adult identity. However, for

a successful outcome of this developmental period it is important that the breaks and disruptions of attachment should come exclusively from the adolescent and not imposed on him by any form of abandonment or rejection on the parent's part (Goldstein, Freud & Solnit, 1973:34).

Clearly different age groups suffer different consequences of parental imprisonment. Older children, at times, appear to bear the greater burden of the parent's imprisonment. At a time when they would normally be seeking their own independence, Heriques (1982) and Shaw (1987) found that older children often take on the role of the incarcerated mother in looking after younger siblings. Older children whose mothers are incarcerated may also suffer social isolation and rejection by their peer group.

Longer Term Effects

There exist few good studies on the longer term effects of parental imprisonment on children. Based on what we do know, the often theorized cycle of incarceration appears more and more to be a reality. Recent data from the U. S. Bureau of Justice Statistics documents an alarming trend toward second generation incarceration. Likewise, the Atlanta-based Aid to Imprisoned Mothers estimates that children of inmates are five to six times more likely than peers to become incarcerated themselves. In 1989, the ACA Task Force on the Female Offender found that more than half of all females in

juvenile prison have a parent who has been jailed or imprisoned (Johnston, 1992).

The Center of Incarcerated Parents (Johnston, 1992) suggest that intergenerational crime and incarceration are related to the untreated consequences of traumatic stress, parent-child separation and inadequate posttrauma care in children of offenders. Johnston prescribes therapeutic visitation as a promising intervention that provides family mediation and counseling through the parent's incarceration. Several other interventions suggested include:

1. alternative sentencing
2. support of parent-child contact visitation by allowing child-centered open visitation and special parent-child extended contact visitation and providing transportation
3. support of parent-child written and telephone communication; and
4. support of family preservation and reunification through measures such as correctional staff education, prison parents' education, collaborative child placement programs and parent furlough programs (Johnston, 1992).

Implications of Problem for Public Management and Public Policy

Correctional policy and programming across the country

have periodically emphasized concepts of treatment and secure confinement. By the mid-1950's the ideology of rehabilitation was firmly rooted in the practices of therapeutic treatment, either psychotherapy or group interaction methodology (Sullivan, 1990). Rehabilitation or treatment concepts were primarily based on the medical model which views criminality as a sickness. By the end of the 1960's the pendulum had begun to move away from, but did not totally abandon, the treatment model. The focus moved toward a secure confinement model spurred on by the political and social events of the time. Secure confinement was based on retribution rooted in the Judea-Christian tradition, reinforced by years of biblical teaching, which stressed the notion of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth (White, 1989).

Prison radicals forced many treatment-minded penologists to rethink their positions in favor of the custody side. There were thirty-nine prison riots in 1969 and fifty-nine in 1970. This occurred in conjunction with a series of studies on treatment programs beginning in the 1960's which also threw doubt on the whole idea of rehabilitation. Overall there were 231 experimental studies conducted on treatment/rehabilitation of offenders between 1945 and 1967 (White, 1989). In summarizing the findings of these studies, Martinson (1974) found, with few exceptions, that these programs had no appreciable effect on recidivism. Interestingly, instead of

moving corrections policy more firmly toward a retribution model, policy makers called for a more balanced approach for prisoner intervention. Authorities advocated creating a new system in which rehabilitation would represent only one part of the total correctional package. This initiative stressed the need for emphasis being given to retribution, deterrence, and rehabilitation (Carlson, 1975).

It is clear that up to this point the idea of a more balanced approach has been unsuccessful. Rates of incarceration have continued to skyrocket with no indication of abatement in the foreseeable future. Statistics vary somewhat depending on the source, but on this issue there is full agreement that incarceration rates in the United States are now at a critical level. Prison overcrowding has become the norm rather than the exception. States are finding it virtually impossible to build their way out of this crisis. A relatively recent illustration of the problem points out that there are as many prisoners serving time in the United States as there are free citizens living in Boston (Camp, and Camp, 1987).

With both rehabilitation programs and harsh punishment in disfavor, the overwhelming trend has been toward incapacitation (Sieh, 1989). While responding to public demand to get tough on criminals, the cost of incapacitation creates difficult management decisions for corrections

officials. At an average cost of $18,000 per inmate per year in Virginia, during a time of shrinking resources, corrections administrators are forced into realizing that balance is needed perhaps now more than every before.

Given this reality, it appears prudent to give renewed attention to the heretofore ignored but skyrocketing increase in the number of female offenders. As previously suggested, female offenders demonstrate more complexity than male offenders because of their role of mothers. Adequate accomplishment of the mothering role is closely tied to personal development which embodies self-esteem and self-identity. According to the prominent sociologist George Herbert Mead (1934), humans learn social roles such as parenting through interaction and it is only through this interaction that humans develop a "social self." Therefore, it is not enough to consider the impact that the lack of positive self-esteem has on the individual female prisoner. The correctional system must look beyond the individual and attempt to impact the inmate mother's ability to parent. The deleterious effect that imprisonment has on parent-child relationships can be lessened by efforts undertaken to strengthen communication between parents and children during this period (Barry, 1985; Fishman, 1982).

The development of good parenting skills is essential to good parent-child communication. Incarcerated mothers feel

very strongly about the importance of loving their children and guiding them in ways to facilitate the development of appropriate social behavior and attitudes (LeFlore & Holston, 1990), but the incarcerated mother needs to be provided the opportunity to maintain contact with her children while incarcerated. She also needs to be supported in her efforts to fulfill her social role of mother by having access to parenting training. It is relevant for corrections officials to be concerned about the provision of parenting skills in part because of what has become a cycle of inter-generational incarceration.

The Virginia State Crime Commission (1993) recognized the special needs of the female offender and called for a new approach in treatment alternatives. The Crime Commission specifically made mention of low self-esteem which appears symptomatic of a dysfunctional life style (House Document No. 24, 1993). Depending on the nature and focus of the "new approach," a more family oriented treatment process could emerge. Mustin (1987) contends that it is in the interest of the criminal justice system to maintain and strengthen family ties through the adoption of system wide policies and programs. He goes on to suggest that these policies and programs should include the following: 1) a system of family support services, 2) provision for information access by families, 3) special programs for incarcerated parents and

their children (Mustin, 1987:14).

The M.I.L.K. Program is the embodiment of the essential elements needed in the "new approach." It is uniquely designed to address all three of the programmatic elements outlined above by Mustin. It is important to ensure that programmatic movement proceeds in the most efficient and effective direction possible. For that reason this dissertation is a timely opportunity to investigate the usefulness of the M.I.L.K. Program in meeting its stated objectives.

Policy makers are beginning to realize that corrections policy premised upon a male population is unntenable for a fast growing female inmate population. In this regard the Virginia State Crime Commission has gone on record by saying that if society has abandoned its traditional response to women convicted of crimes, it should implement new policies designed to address the needs of this inmate population (Virginia House Document No. 24).

Significance of the Study

The findings of this dissertation will be helpful in forming policy regarding sentencing, placement, as well as rehabilitative services. It is intended to be a source of knowledge and make a contribution to both policy and practice.

Presently the female inmate population in Virginia remains comparatively small as compared to men. Female

inmates number approximately 700 out of a total inmate population of 18,000. This means that the female inmate population is still small enough for a "new approach" to be engineered without being significantly disruptive to the entire system. By virtue of this research project, correctional administrators and policy makers will have at their disposal additional information to aid them in their selection of the type of programs, policies, and procedures which will encourage mother-child contact and family reunification. If techniques used in the M.I.L.K. Program prove successful, with appropriate modifications, similar programs might be made available to male prisoners. Finally, the consequence of working progressively with inmate mothers may result in a reduction in inter-generational incarceration, and thus, provide a significant benefit to society.

The research design for the current study is the nonequivalent control group design, a quasi-experimental design. This design involves an experimental group and a comparison group and requires that both a pretest and posttest be administered. Limitations of the study result from the samples being non-random and small in size. This causes concern about the generalizibility of findings.

Chapter One basically provided information about the targeted population and highlighted some policy issues. The remaining chapters will focus more narrowly on the female

offender and the study itself. Chapter Two provides a review of the literature and a profile of the adult female offender. Chapter Three provides the research m ethodoloty. Chapter Four contains the results of the study. Chapter Five provides a discussion of the limitations of the study followed by conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Early Writings

Historically, in English literature, science, and popular thought, women have either been idolized or maligned. The images of women have fluctuated from paragons of virtue to devious enchantress; unfortunately, these myths have persisted in scientific research. Instead of exposing these misconceptions, early social scientists often based theories on them (Bowker, 1978:25). Whether they regarded women as infantile, amoral children or pampered slaves, early sociologists were guilty of gross sexism (Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1974:310). It should be noted here that early theorists, mostly male, were not alone in holding their sexually biased views. Their views and concomitant theories were also held by educated females. Women such as Pauline Tarnowsky and Dora Melegari, who were contemporaries of Ceasare Lombroso (1894), contributed data to Lombroso's book. They added support to Lombroso's theories.

The early study of female criminality revolves around three dominant theorists, Ceasare Lombroso, W. I. Thomas, and Otto Pollak. Lombroso stressed the argument that individuals develop differently within sexual and racial limitations that differ hierarchically from the most highly developed, the white man, to the most primitive, the nonwhite woman. He

traces a general pattern of evolution that explains variations in the development of groups (Gora, 1982:3). Thus Lombroso writes that "even the female criminal is monotonous and uniform compared with her male companion, just as, in general, woman is inferior to man" (Lombroso, 1920:122). He explains this by saying that this is due to her being atavistically nearer to her origin than the male (Lombrozo, 1920:107).

Lombroso (1920:109) developed a biological explanation of male and female crime, introducing the notion of "born criminal". Comparing convicted criminals with noncriminals, he theorizes that certain physical characteristics mark one as being atavistic. Lombroso was not alone in his search for physiologically constitutional characteristics of female criminals. Most notably, Matthews, in 1923, Burt in 1925, and Seagrave in 1926, all studied female offenders from the point of view of physical size and development, sexual development, illness, and disease; but few really significant causal relationships were ever uncovered (Brodsky, 1974).

W. I. Thomas (1907:241) built on Lombroso's biological scheme, emphasizing the importance of the physical differences between the sexes as expressed in the following:

> What we look for most in the female is femininity, and when we find the opposite in her, we must conclude as a rule that there must be some anomaly... In the portraits of Red Indian and Negro beauties, whom it is difficult to recognize for women, so huge are their jaws and cheekbones, so hard and coarse their features, and the same is often the case in their crania and brains.

In his later work, The Unadjusted Girl (1923) Thomas moved from an exclusively physiological focus and deals with female criminality as a "normal" response under certain social conditions. The importance of social controls in directing an individual's basic drives, or "wishes" as he called them, was stressed. Thomas proposes that it is the "definition of the situation" that controls behavior, and socialization, not punishment, that regulates action. However, the "nature of women" and the motivation for crime remained essentially unchanged; delinquent girls are motivated by desire for excitement (Gora, 1982:4).

Thomas believed that the school should identify maladaptive, predelinquent children very early and treat them before they progressed further in criminal careers. He urged that the community assume its responsibilities in providing legitimate opportunities for attainment of needs (Bowker, 1978:45). Thomas applied a psychological model of crime consistent with the emerging gestalt of the 1920's and 1930's. The theory Thomas proposed was a dyadic goals-means conflict. He believed that every human had basic desires. The desire for new experience and the desire for response were two that influenced criminality (Bowker, 1978:45). One of the more important observations made by Thomas was that crime was but one representation of the same drive that produced legitimate innovations.

Following Thomas, one of the more influential thinkers during the early study of the female offender in the United States was Otto Pollak. In 1950 Pollak published his book, The Criminality of Women, which has been cited as the major work on women and crime in the early postwar years. His thesis departed from most treatments of the subject by claiming that the crime rate among women probably equals that of men (Leonard, 1982:3). He described women's crimes as having a "masked character". He stated that crimes frequently committed by women, including shoplifting, thefts by prostitutes against their clients, domestic thefts, abortions, perjury, and disturbance of the peace are inadequately reflected in the statistics (Leonard, 1982:3). Pollak contended that the social roles of women are excellent covers for crime. He argued that policemen do not like to arrest women; judges, prosecutors, and juries do not like to assist in convicting them. This is due in part to their paternalistic and chivalrous attitude toward women (Leonard, 1982:4). Pollak assumed that women's crimes are characterized by deceit and asserts that virtually all criminologists will support this. To avoid being charged with biases he lists female authors who share in this belief in women's deceitfulness.

Pollak explained the deceitfulness of women's crimes through culture and biology. Although physical weakness can

force a woman to resort to deception, he does not overestimate its importance, given the present level of technology. Guns have a way of cancelling the value of brute strength. So, he discusses the role of biology in combination with social factors. Pollak alleges that women disguise sexual response, conceal their period of menstruation and withhold sexual information from young children. These basic facts in a woman's life, according to Pollak, give her training in deception and a different attitude toward truth (Leonard, 1982:4). As Leonard puts it in his book, Crime, Women and Society, society condones, even encourages, deceit among its women. All criminals wish to remain undetected, but, due to their training, women are more likely to be successful in this regard (Leonard, 1982:4).

Pollak wrote that men had idolized or maligned women because they did not understand them. This, and the tradition of chivalry, masked a large amount of female crime. He predicted that social emancipation would increase the total among of female crime, but it would not increase the hidden crime occurring in the home because that would still be the woman's domain (Bowker, 1978:50). Pollak advances that a root cause of hidden crime is that of "chivalry" in the criminal justice system. Pollak uses Thomas' observation that women are differentially treated by law, and carries it to a sweeping conclusion based on cultural analysis of men's

feelings toward women (Crites, 1976:23). Moyer (1985:12) suggests that in "this tradition of chivalry, the criminal justice system has tried to shield women in order to help the whores become madonnas and to ensure that the madonnas do not fall from grace."

Pollak is quoted as saying that one of the outstanding concomitants of the existing inequality...is chivalry, and the general protective attitude of man toward woman.... Men hate to accuse women and thus indirectly to send them to their punishment (Crites, 1976:23). Pollak asserted that the many misconceptions concerning female criminality were due, in part, to man's sheer inability to understand women because of an unwillingness to grant her equality. As the oppressor in a male dominated world, man has simultaneously needed and feared women; thus he has either idealized her "into a sweetness and purity" which has made her appear harmless, even dependent, or he has condemned her completely (Brodsky, 1975:24)

Another early writer on female crime was Sigmund Freud. The Freudian Theory of the position of women is grounded in the explicit biological assumptions about their nature, expressed by the famous "Anatomy is Destiny." Built upon this foundation is a construction incorporating psychological and structural factors (B. Price, 1982:47). Freud, himself, saw women as anatomically inferior; they are destined to be wives

and mothers, and this admittedly is an inferior destiny as befits the inferior sex. In the Freudian scheme, the root of this so called inferiority is that women's sex organs are inferior to that of men. In the Freudian Scheme, the girl assumes that she has lost a penis as punishment, is traumatized, and grows up envious and revengeful. The boy also sees the girl as having lost a penis, fears a similar punishment himself, and dreads the girl's envy and vengeance.

Freud goes on to state that feminine traits can be traced to the inferior genitals themselves, or to womens' inferiority complex arising from their response to them: women are exhibitionistic, narcissistic, and attempt to compensate for their lack of a penis by being well dressed and physically beautiful. Women become mothers trying to replace the lost penis with a baby (Price, 1982:48).

In this same vein, Lombroso and Thomas have noted that women are masochistic because their sexual role is one of receptor, and their sexual pleasure consists of pain. This woman, Freud notes, is the healthy woman. In the familiar dichotomy, the men are aggressive and pain inflicting. Freud comments:

> The male pursues the female for the purpose of sexual union, seizes hold of her, and penetrates into her...by this you have precisely reduced the characteristic of masculinity to the factor of aggressiveness (Price, 1982:48).

Freud is remembered because he defined the healthy

feminine psyche for future theorists. Psychological characteristics such as masochism, narcissism, passivity, and sexual indifference were defined as anatomically based, universal feminine traits. Historical possibilities of change in social or sexual roles are overlooked because of the explicit biological tenets of the theory. Thus, Freud laid the groundwork for future theorists' attempts to relate psychological traits to biological characteristics (Gora, 1982:5). Freudian theory holds that women who are not content with their roles as mothers and wives are maladjusted and that any manifestations of deviance, including their participation in criminal acts, reflect a "masculinity complex" - that is, penis envy (Simon, 1991:108).

Lastly, in setting the stage for work that would follow was the work of Eugenia Lekkerkerker. Lekkerkerker was a Dutch lawyer who visited the United States in the late 1920's to study female reformatories. Her book, Reformatories for Women in the United States, published in 1931, traced the growth of separate reformatories for women, gave a lengthy description of those institutions which she visited and their programs, and made some interesting observations. Lekkerkerker observed that women offenders were regarded as "erring and misguided" and in need of protection and help. Shame was an important tool in rehabilitation attempts with females. The reformatory system for women was more influenced

by this line of thinking than by the tradition of the existing penitentiary system. Directors were chosen outside of correctional backgrounds and instructed to develop homelike atmospheres. The purpose of the institution was to instill "standards of sexual morality" and "sobriety". Also, the reformatories trained women in duties as homemakers (Bowker, 1978:44).

Lekkerkerker was one of the first to observe that women offenders are often branded with "noncriminal methods" and either granted probation, dismissed, or turned over to private agencies or supervision without any sort of formal conviction. She believed that two factors primarily accounted for this: (1) the fact that officials hesitated to send minor offenders to the reformatory, and (2) the fact that sexual delinquency was not seriously considered a crime. In Lekkerkerker's study, she observed the following:

> The fact is, that from the beginning women delinquents were much more regarded as erring and misguided human beings needing protection and help than as dangerous criminals against whom the social order should be protected. As we have noted before, the majority of the women delinquents, especially in the Massachusetts prison, had been guilty either of drunkenness or of sex delinquency, both offenses which, as the common saying goes,"they had harmed no one but themselves." The more serious and violent offenses, which, according to popular notions, from the real crimes, like murder or burglary, are not often committed by women, and even in those cases the public is frequently more inclined to find condoning explanations than if it concerns men. There has always been something pathetic about the disgraced and dishonored woman delinquent in the eyes of the public, whereas male delinquents are usually feared as dangerous criminals who willfully prey upon society, and who,

> therefore, generally inspire defensive feelings of hostility and revenge (Brodsky, 1977:21).

Separate reformatories for women did not develop in the United States until the late 1800s. After reviewing the development and characteristics of the institutions existing in the late 1920's, Lekkerkerker concluded that:

> The most important lesson which may be drawn from the half century of experience of the American reformatory system so far is that the treatment of women's delinquency is a very different problem from that ot male criminality, and that the penal system for women should be considered separately, and not governed dogmatically by the same principles and methods which are applied to prisons for men" (Brodsky, 1977:22).

Contemporary Work

The legacy of the early thinking about female criminality lingered into the recent past. Illuminating examples can be found in Gisela Konopka's Adolescent Girl in Conflict, (1966), in Vedder and Summerville's, The Delinquent Girl, (1970) and in Cowie, Cowie and Slater's, Delinquency in Girls, (1968).

Konopka justifies her decision to study delinquency in girls rather than in boys by noting girls' influence on boys in gang fights and on future generations as mothers. This is the notion of women as instigators of men and influences on children. Konopka, like Lombroso, Thomas and Freud, centered her thinking on the causality of female criminality on female personalism, emotionalism, and above all, sexuality. Konopka believed that boys are "instrumental" and become delinquent if they are deprived of the chance for creative success.

However, girls are "expressive" and happiest dealing with people as wives, mothers, nurses or psychologists. This perspective is drawn from the theory of delinquency as a result of blocked opportunity and from instrumental/expressive sexual dualism developed by structural-functionalists. Thus, female delinquency must be dealt with on this psychological level, using therapy geared to their needs as future wives and mothers. They should be adjusted and given opportunities to be pretty, sociable women (Price, 1982:55).

However, it can be argued that Konopka displays more of the influence of W. I. Thomas and the liberal tradition within criminology rather than the biological positivism of Lombroso. Like Thomas, Konopka's work is descriptive rather than analytical, having a strong reliance on anecdotal evidence and individual case histories. Konopka's emphasis on individual case histories stresses the individuality of delinquents, while overlooking the similarities in their structural position within society, and also emphasizes the significance of personal problems and inadequacies as opposed to social factors such as poverty, the unequal distribution of wealth, and differential opportunity structures (Smart,1977:61).

Vedder and Summerville account for female delinquency in a manner similar to that of Konopka. They like Konopka, feel the need to justify attention to girls by stating that "while female delinquency may not pose as much of a problem as that

of boys, because women raise families and are critical agents of socialization, it is worth taking time to study and control them" (Crites, 1976:25). Their view of delinquency was one of blocked access of maladjustment to their feminine role. They totally ignore the economic and social factors that result from racism and poverty by attributing the high rates of delinquency among black girls to their lack of healthy feminine narcissism, reducing racism to a psychological problem. They make the following statement:

> The black girl is, in fact, the antithesis of the American beauty. However loved she may be by her mother, family and community, she has no real basis of female attractiveness on which to build sound feminine narcissism....perhaps the 'black is beautiful' movement will help the Negro girl to increase her femininity and personal satisfaction as a black woman (Crites, 1976).

These comments are consistent with comments mentioned earlier in this manuscript by W. I. Thomas some 60 years previously. Even though Vedder and Sommerville analyzed a disproportionate number of black girls in their sample, many of their comments were meant for female offenders in general. They state that the "female offender's goal, as any woman's is a happy and successful marriage; therefore, her self-image is dependent upon the establishment of satisfactory relations with the opposite sex" (Gora, 1982:7). Clearly, the focus is on the lack of sexual opportunities. Since healthy women conform, the individual delinquents should be helped to adjust; the emphasis is on the "definition of the situation"

rather than on the situation. The answer prescribed by Vedder and Sommerville lies in therapy, and racism and sexism become merely psychological problems.

Cowie, Cowie and Slater (1968) propose a chromosomal explanation of female delinquency that harkens back to the work of Lombroso. They state:

> Differences between the sexes in hereditary predisposition (to crime) could be explained by sex-linked genes. Furthermore, the female mode of personality, more timid, more lacking in enterprise, may guard her against delinquency" (Bowker, 1981:10).

They retained the view that criminality is a sign of pathology, any abnormal occurrence which can be eliminated if the causal factors are isolated.

Cowie, et al., engaged in a search for variables which would enable them to distinguish between the delinquent (or potentially delinquent) girl and the nondelinquent (or normal) girl. In particular, they looked for signs of "defective" intelligence, abnormal, central nervous function and impaired physical health. Their findings revealed that:

> Delinquent girls, more often than boys have other forms of impaired health; they are noticed to be over-sized, lumpish, uncouth and graceless, with a raised incidence of minor physical defects (Smart, 1977:55).

Much like the Lombroso era, Cowie, et al., did not consider the social processes which differentially produce characteristics as mentioned above in members of specific social groups. Cowie, Cowie, and Slater, (1976) invoke a biological determinist model, similar to that of Lombroso,

maintaining that the biological difference between the sexes represents the most significant cause of the difference in the nature and frequency of crimes committed by men and women (Smart, 1977:56). As evidence of the depth of their belief in this biological determinism, they state that:

> "The pattern of development in personality and behavior is more stable and more consistent in the female than in the male, and can take a larger stress before being disrupted" (Smart, p. 56).

Cowie, et al., explicitly state: "Common sense suggests that the main factors in predisposing the delinquency are somatic ones, especially hormonal ones" (Smart,1977:60).

In responding to Cowie, et al., Carol Smart (1977) asserts that they do not attempt to analyze critically common-sense understandings of sexuality, sexual differences or female delinquency; they accept them as if they constituted the basis of objective evidence and in consequence fail to see the cultural and historical limitations of their work or its ideological function. As a result of these limitations, Cowie, et al fail to appreciate the diversity of the social phenomenon they are studying and ultimately they present a mere description of culturally given beliefs about female delinquency in the guise of an analytical explanation. Smart goes on to say that their appeal to common-sense has other far reaching consequences, for it serves to perpetuate and give scientific credibility to folklore and myth, thereby further mystifying our understanding of deviant phenomena (Smart,

1977:60).

Current Theories

Four basic themes now appear to dominate sociological discussions of the etiology of contemporary female criminology. These themes can be classified as (1) the masculinity thesis, (2) the opportunity thesis, (3) the economic marginalization thesis, and (4) the chivalry thesis. The first two theses tend to be grouped together under the heading of "liberation thesis", as both attempt to link changes in female crime with the improved status of women.

The Masculinity Thesis

The Masculinity theory of offending was first expounded by the American Sociologist, Talcott Parsons in 1947. The masculinity theory comprises two ideas: crime is symbolically masculine and masculinity supplies the motive for a good deal of crime. Parsons offered an account of the greater delinquency of boys than girls based on the structure and function of the American nuclear family (Niffine, 1987:43). He maintained that the principle task of women is to nurture and socialize children in the domestic sphere while men are expected to provide financial support for the entire family, performing work outside the home.

The masculinity theory was in effect updated by Freda Adler in her work Sisters in Crime, (1975). This perspective is based on a subjectivist orientation that links changes in

criminology to changes in subjective attitudes engendered by changes in the substantive nature of sex roles. This perspective predicts a causal link between the women's movement, changing social roles of women, the masculinization of female behavior (particularly a hypothetical change from passivity to aggressiveness as women assume male social roles), and changes in patters of female offending (Simon, et al., 1991:1).

More specifically, this thesis claims that as women are liberated and assume traditional social roles, they begin to assert themselves in typically male ways, that is, they become aggressive, pushy, and hardheaded in the same way men are perceived to be. Moreover, women learn to use crime as a shortcut to success and financial well being and are more prone to use violence than in the past. The masculinization theory predicts that to the extent that women's attitudes and behaviors become masculinized through their liberation and consequential assumption of traditional male roles, their roles and patterns of criminal offending increasingly will approximate those of men. This change is expected to be most evident in patterns of violent offending, which reflect the increasing aggressiveness of liberated women (Simon, et al., 1991:2).

The Opportunity Thesis

The opportunity thesis argues that women are neither more

nor less moral than men, nor are they more or less inclined to engage in criminal acts. Rather, it assumes an objective orientation and argues that opportunities, skills, and social networks historically have contributed to men's propensity to commit crimes, while these same factors have limited women's opportunities. The opportunity thesis predicts a relationship between positions that persons occupy in the labor force and their opportunities for committing various types of offenses. The opportunity thesis stresses that as the employment patterns of men and women become more similar, so too will their patterns of employment related crimes (Simon, et al, 1991:3; Simon & Landis, 1991:9). In support of this thesis Pollock-Byrne (1990:26) writes that it may be that the traditional role of wife and mother did insulate the woman from criminal opportunity.

The Economic Marginalization Thesis

The economic marginalization thesis proports that it is the absence, rather than the availability, of employment opportunity for women that seems to lead to increase in female crime, for when times are good, the offending of women stabilizes rather than escalates (Naffine, 1987:98; Simon & Landis, 1991:9). Those who promote this thesis take as their point of departure several related notions:

1. Greater participation in the labor force does not necessarily mean either more equality between the sexes

or an improved economic situation for women.

2. The bulk of female offenders, if employed at all, are concentrated in a pink-collar ghetto, and their positions are characterized by poor pay and unrewarding, insecure work.
3. Female crime, the bulk of which is petty property crime, constitutes a rational response to poverty and economic insecurity (Simon, et al., 1991:9).

In 1976, Laura Crites studied the socioeconomic and racial characteristics of American female offenders. She discovered that most were from minority racial groups, were employed in poorly paid and low status jobs, and were under educated. She concluded employment benefits derived from the feminist push for equal employment opportunities accrue predominantly to white, middle class females (Crites, 1976:36).

The Chivalry Thesis

One of the dominant themes running through much of the literature about the female offender for the last 15 to 20 years has been the issue of chivalry, which is described as the more lenient treatment of female offenders by criminal justice personnel. There is a recurring belief that the numbers presented in official statistics do not represent the true statistics on female crime. The rationale for this belief is that the male system of criminal justice protects

and excuses women from their actions and punishments (Pollock-Byrne, 1990:27; Simon and Landis, 1991:11).

Rita Simon suggests that women's call for equality in other realms of social, political, and economic life could invoke an unintended reaction in other realms such as criminal justice processing, creating an "if it's equality they want, it's equality they'll get" mentality among male police officers and court officials (Simon, and Landis, 1991:13).

Darrell Steffensmeier seriously questions the validity of the chivalry thesis. He notes that it is frequently claimed that the proportion of women arrested for serious crimes has been increasing dramatically and that the increase has been greater among females than males. Steffensmeier stresses that while these claims have some validity, they are misleading and illusionary (Steffensmeier, 1980). The increase in arrests of women for serious crimes is almost entirely due to more women being arrested for larceny and, more specifically, to greater numbers of women being arrested for shoplifting (Price, et al., 1982:122).

Steffensmeier states that the increase in arrests for larceny and fraud may be due to changes in official policies, which have had a differential effect on male and female arrest trends (Steffensmeier, 1980). In recent years, there have been improvements in store surveillance methods and a greater willingness by store officials to prosecute apprehended

shoplifters. This would tend to increase female more than male arrest rates for larceny, since males are more likely to commit larcenies other than shoplifting. Similarly, crack downs on welfare and related kinds of fraud, the trend toward computerized record keeping systems, and other improvements in detecting fraud would tend to increase female more than male arrests for fraud (Price, et al., 1982:126). Studies have shown neither support for Chivalry thesis nor the speculation that the chivalry hypothesis has given way to an egalitarian viewpoint on the judicial bench (Pollock-Byrne, 1990:27).

Women in Prison

Reformatory Movement

In order to get a full understanding of women in prison, it is necessary to take a look at the history of women's institutions. Because women have long been thought to hold a special place in society, deviant women have been treated differently from their more law abiding sisters, but also from their male counterparts. In short, women offenders have been a class of people perceived as not wholly feminine because they do not reflect the "Madonna" image, but neither are they masculine (Moyer, 1992:2).

Descriptions of early places of confinement for women indicated that there was little regard for the safety or health of female prisoners. Before classification of the sexes in Europe and the United States, men and women were

housed together in large rooms where the strong preyed upon the weak. Each individual's life was made bearable only by the resources each received from his or her family, or could acquire by begging, bartering or stealing from other prisoners. After the separation of the sexes, women's lives in prison were only marginally better. Early institutions were described as overcrowded and filthy. In the 1920's a Philadelphia jail had seven women in a cellar with only two blankets among them. Similarly in Albany a jail placed fifteen women in one room (Pollock-Byrne, 1990:40).

Feinman (1984) suggests that female offenders, particularly the sexual deviant, was seen as a direct threat to the social order and national stability. Many Americans believed that female offenders were born pure but had fallen and, thus, were more depraved than male offenders. Because they were deemed fallen women, unlike men, considered to be totally vile, lost and socially unredeemable, Americans treated female offenders more harshly than men. Women carried with them a social stigma imposed upon them by an unforgiving society (Feinman, 1984:63).

Largely due to disdainful attitudes toward them, women were incarcerated under deplorable and unsanitary conditions. Classification of prisoners did not exist in the mid-1800's and women of all ages, races, and charges were housed together. Once a day, male inmates or guards brought supplies

to the women and removed the refuse. Security was lacking and pregnancies occurred. Their neglect was due to prevailing hostile attitudes and the wish to literally keep them out of sight. Congestion increased and conditions grew worse, causing B.C. Smith, Chaplin at Auburn Penitentiary in the 1830's, to proclaim that to be a woman prisoner was "worse than death" (Feinman, 1984:63).

Women in the reform movements of the later half of the 1800's advocated separate female penal institutions where good women would teach the delinquents to be proper women through love, religion, education, and work. Many of the reformers became professionals in women's corrections. They brought with them the concept that traditional women were more virtuous and moral than men, and, therefore, only they could uplift the fallen by applying the domestic arts to corrections. The reform movement from about 1870 to the century's close produced four institutions. This was a period during which reformers experimented, venturing further from traditional concepts of prison as they evolved their own model (Pollock-Byrne, 1990:46).

Those given reformatory terms were carefully chosen. The women who found themselves in reformatories were young, relatively unhardened, guilty of misdemeanors, or victims of difficult circumstances. Most were under the age of twenty-five, white, and native-born. Two-thirds were married at some

time but were widowed, divorced, or separated. Most had no prior convictions and their crimes were minor: more than half had been incarcerated for drunkenness and prostitution (Pollock-Byrne, 1990:47). Reformatory women were also disproportionately white; blacks were almost entirely excluded. Black women were predominately sent to custodial institutions. This exclusion of black women occurred despite the fact that blacks composed a disproportionate share of prison commitments. Custodial institutions had less pleasant surroundings, but were still feminized versions of male penitentiaries. While the reformers obtained separate prisons for women under women administrators and staff, and improved treatment for incarcerated women, they reenforced and perpetuated stereotypical sex roles for women (Feinman, 1984:63).

Women's Prisons

Prisons for women today have inherited the legacy of the reformatory ideal. Although two types of institutions emerged -- the custody institution and the reformatory -- the ideas surrounding them merged together. The institutions that were built followed vague ideas that mixed both types. At first, only misdemeanants were confined in the reformatory styled institutions. The "cottage plan" architectural innovation replaced the endless rows of cell blocks with separate buildings (Crites, 1976:95). Nearly all maintained sizeable

farms, both to produce food for the institution and to provide therapeutic work situations for the inmates. Most women's institutions no longer operate farms, but farms and camps for men are more in vogue than ever, for substantially the same reason as before (Crites, 1976:95).

Throughout the early 1900s women's prisons tended to continue to follow the same vague ideals that defined women as different and institutions for women as a place to prepare them for womanhood. Little attention was directed to women's prisons from the early 1930s to the mid 1960s. In the 1960s, women in prison were referred to as the forgotten offenders by those who wanted to call attention to their plight and to bring about changes in their situation. Part of the reason for the lack of interest in female inmates then and now is that there are so few of them compared to the men (Simon and Landis, 1991:77).

In 1987, about 22 out of 100 persons arrested for serious crime were women. In the same year, about 10 out of 100 persons convicted of serious crime were women, but only about 5 out of 100 persons sentenced to a federal or state prison were women.

Another often cited reason for the lack of interest in female inmates is that the inmates themselves have called so little attention to their situation. Simon and Landis (1991) point out that prison reforms and public and official interest

in prisons are strongly influenced by the amount of disruption and violence that occurs inside prisons. Prisoners are likely to receive attention only if they riot, destroy property, endanger the lives of guards and fellow inmates, and submit a list of demands for reforming the institution. Following such activities, the public demands an investigation, the governor appoints a blue ribbon, fact finding commission, and prison officials acknowledge that reforms may be needed and are likely to be made (Simon and Landis, 1991:77). During the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, women's institutions did not engage in the kind of engaged rebellious behavior that was carried out in such places as Attica, New York in September, 1971.

Profile of the Adult Female Offender

This profile, from a 1990 survey by the American Correctional Association, is offered to provide a clearer picture of just who the female offender is. Research was conducted with female residents of over 400 Federal Bureau Prison facilities located throughout the United States. Figures differ slightly depending on the source. However, the figures cited here appear consistent with the most recent information.

Personal History:

> The average adult female, according to the report, 'The Female Offender, What Does the Future Hold?', issued by the American Correctional Association (ACA) in 1990, is a minority person (57 percent) between the ages of 25 and

29 who either had never been married (37 percent) or who before incarceration was a single parent living alone with one to three children (62 percent). Upon release she plans to live with either her parents or grandparents (27 percent). She plans to maintain her children (72 percent) who are currently cared for by her mother or grandparent (48 percent).

Home Life:

The American Correctional Association report (1990) asserts that the average female offender comes from a single parent or broken home, with 50 percent having other family members incarcerated, of which 54 percent are brothers or sisters. The most important people in her life are her children (52 percent) and her mother. She has run away from home at least one to three times (65 percent) because she felt insecure about parental love and acceptance while growing up (56 percent). She is easily influenced by her peers (65 percent) and uses drugs to make her feel better emotionally (39 percent). She had most likely attempted suicide (28 percent) an average of one to two times (70 percent) because she was depressed, felt no one cared, and that life was too painful to continue (69 percent).

Sexual Abuse:

The ACA report (1990) claims that the average female

offender has likely been a victim of sexual abuse (36 percent) three to eleven times or more (55 percent) between the ages of five to fourteen (57 percent). She most likely was sexually abused by a male member of the immediate family (49 percent), such as a father or stepfather (23 percent). Reporting the incident resulted in no change or made things worse (49 percent).

Alcohol/Drug History:

According to the ACA report (1990), the average female offender first started using alcohol or drugs between the ages of 13 and 14 (74 percent), has used alcohol at least one to two times a month (74 percent), has used cocaine (49 percent).

Criminal History:

The ACA's 1990 report on the female offender asserts that the average female offender has been arrested an average of two to nine times (55 percent), beginning between the ages of 15 to 19 (34 percent). The most common offenses include property crimes (39 percent) and crimes of violence (22 percent). She received a sentence of two to eight years (50 percent), will serve less than one-fourth of her sentence, and committed crimes for the following reasons: to pay for drugs, relieve economic pressures, or poor judgement. Thirty-five percent reacted to their first incarceration with disbelief, 28 percent react with

resignation, and 27 percent react with fear. If a program had been available to help or assist her, she would have participated (88 percent). She expresses remorse and regret at being incarcerated (42 percent), and indicates gains in self-awareness and personal growth (36 percent) as a result of incarceration.

Educational Background:

The 1990 ACA report holds that the average female offender is a high school dropout with one to two years of education and no GED (26 percent), or one to three years of education and a GED (24 percent). Fifty-nine percent failed to complete their education because they were bored or tired, and 34 percent failed to graduate because of pregnancy. Forty-nine percent attended vocational school, studying business, secretarial skills, medical or dental skills, and cosmetology (American Correctional Association, 1990).

Inmate Mothers

The "pains of imprisonment" (Sykes, 1958) are widely considered to be most cruelly visited upon the inmate mother. Although she is subject to the same confinement-produced deprivations and discomforts that face all institutionalized offenders, she must additionally confront and manage the problems that result from her separation and often, isolation from her children (McCartney, 1980:4). One of the most

significant problems confronting incarcerated women in this country is the loss of their loved ones, particularly their children. This problem is especially acute since between 50 percent and 70 percent of incarcerated women have one or more dependent children who were living with them prior to their imprisonment (Baunach, 1985:1).

Prisons have been largely unprepared to handle the unique problems of their growing female populations. Dan Russell, Administrator of Montana's division of corrections, is quoted as saying, "we assumed that they could benefit from the same programs as men. But women have a lot of psychological and medical needs." Often, children are at the heart of the matter. Three-quarters of the women are mothers, and many of them single parents. In recent years, a number of prisons have created programs to provide greater contact between kids and inmate moms.

Though few would argue that male inmates are socially well adjusted, penal experts tend to agree that female inmates require and desire more psychological counseling. Many women feel enormous guilt about their kids. Brenda Smith, attorney at the National Women's Law Center in Washington, D.S. states that "when men get arrested, they ask for a lawyer. When women get arrested they ask about their children." Beckerman points out that it is not uncommon that, when arrested and confined, a mother does not know whether her children have

been placed in a foster home (Beckerman, unpublished).

The maintenance of communication and contact with her children is often a significant problem for the inmate mother. It is frequently difficult for her to keep in touch with the person(s) serving as caregivers; she may be unaware or ill-informed about her children's growth, personal development, and well-being for days, weeks or months at a time. Missed letters, postal delays, and vaguely or ambiguously worded messages can be anxiety provoking because they may be interpreted by the inmate mother as signifying problems at home that the caregiver is unable or unwilling to communicate to the offender (McCarthy, 1980:200).

Jailed mothers say separation from their offspring is the hardest punishment (Baunanch, 1981). Their alternatives are grim: put the children up for adoption, release them to foster care or, most often, leave them with relatives.

Visits from children are reported as rare because women's prisons, like those for men, are often all but inaccessible by public transportation. When children do manage to get there, the sessions can be heartrending. Some prisons like Georgia Women's Correctional Institution at Hardwick have created bright, toy-filled visiting rooms. However, more often the visiting facilities are grim and frightening. For instance, Chicago's Cook County jail has a thick glass pane that separates family visitors from prisoners.

Barbara Cornell points out that rarely, if ever, do the female prisoners get any help from the fathers of their children. Allyn Sicloff, New York City's Corrections Commissioner and former director of the Virginia Department of Corrections, states that husbands, boyfriends, and brothers usually drop a woman convict like a "hot potato" (Cornell, 1990:23).

Visitation policies and conditions vary considerably at each prison. Traditionally, institutional visiting occurs in a rigid framework of prescribed hours, days, clearance list, and sign-up sheets. This still remains true for many correctional programs. At the Virginia Correctional Center for Women this means that visitors,not to exceed five people per visit, are allowed to visit for one hour in an open gymnasium. Visits take place in small semi-circle clusters, a recent improvement over the straight line seating arrangement. Inmate mothers are not permitted to leave their seats except to go to the inmate restroom. Interaction with children is limited to the activity of the semi-circle. They cannot get up and move about the visiting area to talk privately with their children. Security is of concern, thus these restrictions. This is consistent with male prisons. Visitation procedures reflect an obvious concern for uniformity with the male prison visitation procedures. The traditional visitation procedure has clear side effects for

both mother and children. Mothers are often left saddened and children, even though happy to see their mother, are left confused. They often cannot understand why their mother won't interact more fully with them. Some female prisons, however, have gone beyond the traditional process and have developed extended visiting programs. These extended visiting programs are either in the form of day time visits or over night visits with children in prisons. The daytime extended visiting program is the most common.

According to a 1980 study conducted by the National Institution of Corrections, extended visiting means that children do not have to spend a few restless, boring hours in structured, often chaotic visiting rooms competing with other adults and children for attention to the mothers. Instead, mothers and children can have their quiet times together, often in special programs of their own, and often away from the general inmate visiting area. This study claims that such visitations encourage responsibility for the mother, help develop self-esteem both for mother and child, and promote a relaxed visit. Day visiting programs usually include lunch, some structured activities, such as crafts or games, and free time for mother and child to do as they wish. Extended visitation programs are an improvement over traditional visitation programs but fall short of visitation programs with parenting classes.

A few examples of some prison visitation programs are listed below. No two programs are exactly alike but many have similarities. The programs noted below are described by Bouduoris (1985):

New Jersey:

The New Jersey Correctional Institution for Women has a visitation program held in the gymnasium three days each week for approximately 2 ½ hours. Transportation is the key ingredient since children are brought to the prison from nine New Jersey counties.

Massachusetts:

The Massachusetts Correctional Institution has a special program, AIM (Aid to Incarcerated Mothers) which provides transportation for visiting as well as advocacy child cases. Several inmates work with the Director of Treatment in operating this program.

Federal Prison:

The Federal Correctional Institution at Pleasanton, California maintains a well known children's center (Prison MATCH) which combines vocational training, inmate participation, and parent education with child care during extended visiting hours on Sundays. This center has developed through the combined efforts of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Chabot Community College, the Bureau of Prisons, and various foundations as sources of funding. The

center has an advisory board including inmates, staff and community representatives. Program literature states that about one-third million children will be separated from their mothers this year by jail and prison walls. Without intervention, these children are five times more likely than their peers to become delinquent.

New York:

Bedford Hills Correctional Institution for Women, responding to the needs of inmates to have a parenting role when their children visit, opened a parenting center in 1981, modeled on the Pleasanton Children's Center. Two early childhood specialists were hired to supervise activities with children and to train inmates in parenting. Inmates have been actively involved in planning the visitation programs, remodeling space, working as aides, and even in producing a videotape on the subject (Vineto et al., 1981).

Washington:

The Purdy Treatment Center for Women in Washington has, in the past, allowed children to live in apartments on the institution's property with inmates eligible for work release. This program was discontinued in the mid-eighties reportedly because of overcrowding problems, and an effort to reduce escapes, and due to changes in public attitudes and the political climate.

Minnesota:

The Second Chance program in Minnesota includes weekends for children to stay with their mothers and annual "Children's Week" as one of its eight components. Others are: parent education, support groups, individual counseling, foster parent placement service, advocacy, prenatal services, and family counseling. While at the institution, children live in cottages and are supervised by their mothers.

Nebraska:

The M.O.L.D. (Mother-Offspring Life Development) program at the Nebraska Center for Women at York allows children to stay in their mother's rooms for five days on a monthly basis. Overnight visits are limited to girls up to the age of 12 and boys up to the age of 9. The children must be at least six months old and a mother is limited to two children. During the visit an inmate mother is relieved of work assignments but is responsible for the activities and care of the children. Overnight visits are denied if an inmate is being disciplined by a restriction to her room.

South Dakota:

The P.A.C.T. (Parent and Child Together) program at the Women's Correctional Facility at Yankton, South Dakota, arranges for an inmate mother and her children to spend a week every month at the institution. The mothers have no other responsibilities during this time except to be with their

children. The girls can be up to 13 years of age and the boys up to 12 years of age. Because the correctional facility is on the grounds of the state hospital, mothers and their children have access to a recreation building, swimming pool, bowling alley, and gymnasium. This program is modeled on, but is less structured than, the M.O.L.D. program in Nebraska. Although there has been little research on its impact on the mothers and their children, the children are reported to have a positive impact on the other residents (Boudouris, 1985: 21).

Virginia:

The Virginia Correctional Center has developed the M.I.L.K. (Mothers Inside Loving Kids) program. Mothers Inside Loving Kids is a holistic parenting program/visitation program. What makes the Virginia's M.I.L.K. Program unique and different is that it is both an extended visitation program and a parenting training program. This program is the focus of this study. The program was formed in 1981 with the primary objective of maintaining and strengthening the parent/child relationships while they were separated from their children. It provides an actual classroom learning environment followed by the practice of skills during extended visitation.

Program Description

The purpose of the M.I.L.K. program is to strengthen

family relationships, thereby narrowing the gap between incarcerated parents, their children, and the children's guardians while the children are separated from their mother. Each program participant is required to take a series of two hour classes over a nine week period. In Phase I the classes consist of ten hours of parent education and eight hours of child development education. Parent education is divided into two parts. The first part of parent education deals with discipline. The Systematic Training for Effective Discipline (STED) techniques are used as a basis for the discipline section. These techniques teach parents effective problem solving with their children and encourages the use of natural/logical consequences in responding to children's behaviors. The second part of parent education deals with three different forms of communication: nonverbal, verbal, and symbolic. The focus is to develop appropriate communication skills with children. The child development classes include course work in early childhood development (birth to five), child development six to twelve (the middle school aged child), and adolescence (thirteen to eighteen). All classes must be completed in order to qualify for a children's all day visit. Classes are taught by outside volunteer professionals.

Phase II of the program involves children's visits and ongoing support groups. This follows the completion of Phase

I. The course work in Phase I will have prepared participants for a special day of visits with their children. The special M.I.L.K. visit, held apart from regular institutional visitation, helps motivate the M.I.L.K. mothers and provides them the opportunity to demonstrate and utilize the skills that they learned in Phase I. The inmates in the program view the parent/child visit as the most popular part of the M.I.L.K. program for it allows direct, extended contact with family. The parents see the visit as a time when they and the children can talk openly without other family members being present. They can feel free to discuss problems and other issues which relate to the people who are taking care of their children. It gives them an opportunity to nurture their children. They can hold them, rock them, feed them, and generally take care of them as if they were home. These visits are held quarterly and are all day visits as opposed to one or two hour regular institutional visits.

Ongoing support groups meet twice monthly. Support groups are groups of no more than 15 inmates who meet consistently to foster trust. The philosophy behind the support group is one of empowerment. They help each other learn by helping themselves through group support and education. A trained group facilitator is a part of this process. Also, as participants get close to parole they are provided independent living skills classes. This involves a

series of eight, two hour classes offered quarterly. The purpose is to give specific knowledge and skills which will enable maximum self-sufficiency when women reenter the family and community. When the M.I.L.K. participant leaves the prison to go home, the outside sponsor, Virginians for Child Abuse Prevention (VCAP), attempts to connect her with a Parents Anonymous chapter or other support system to aid with the readjustment process.

The overall goal of M.I.L.K. is embodied in five participant- level objectives targeted by the program. Participants are expected to show positive change in the following areas:

1. Personal self-esteem
2. Knowledge of child development
3. Parenting skills
4. Abilities in developing trusting relationships with adults and children
5. Coping skills

In addition to these participant-level objectives, the program is also designed to play a role in preventing child abuse and neglect and decreasing recidivism among participants who graduate from the program.

M.I.L.K. is a holistic parenting/visitation program for inmate mothers. It embodies a philosophy of independence, provides training through a process of involving a classroom

setting followed by structured interaction, and responds to the needs of program participants using a variety of resources. The program recognizes that inmates need a safe, confidential environment to work through painful issues. This may mean revealing their own childhoods and the possible negative parenting of their own children. M.I.L.K. addresses the lack of assertiveness skills that must be developed in order to replace passive or aggressive behaviors. Recognizing the participant's social needs, the program also addresses the desire to feel connected, both physically and emotionally, to family and community during incarceration. Participants learn to feel valued as a person and learn to value others.

The utility of the M.I.L.K. program looks promising; however, no formal evaluation has been conducted at this point. Until a formal study is undertaken, policymakers do not have adequate information to make informed decisions concerning program expansion of replication. Therefore, this dissertation proposes to explore the major features of the M.I.L.K. program. From the results of the study, conclusions will be drawn and recommendations offered.

Chapter III

METHODS

This research proposed to evaluate the Mothers Inside Loving Kids program (M.I.L.K.) in regards to the participants' self-esteem and parenting skills. Areas discussed in this chapter include: a) study design; b) study hypotheses; c) population and sampling procedures; d) data collections and measures; and e) data analysis plan.

Study Design

The nonequivalent control group design, a quasi-experimental design, was selected for this study. This design involves an experimental group and a comparison group and requires that both a pretest and post-test be administered. The nonequivalent control group design differs from a true experimental design in that the assignment to treatment and comparison groups is not random. Random samples are generally taken from large populations. Due to the small number of M.I.L.K. program participants, random sampling was not possible. However, despite the lack of random selection of the subjects, this particular design is recognized as being useful in situations where true experimental designs are not feasible (Leedy, 1985:219). The preferred strategy is to use natural groups if they can be located. Ideally, the researcher hopes to find groups that are more or less alike even though their equivalence cannot be ensured (Reid & Smith,

1981:157).

Internal validity is of concern for this design with the major threat being the threat of selection. Groups not randomly assigned may differ in ways not measured and, therefore, results attributed to treatment may, in fact, be caused by initial differences in group composition. When possible, the most desirable nonequivalent control group should be formed from eligible clients who have applied for a program but could not be absorbed immediately. While such "waiting list" controls may differ in subtle and important respects from those actually admitted to the program, they would doubtless be more similar to clients in the program than controls from a nonparticipant population (Reid & Smith, 1981:158). Furthermore, differences between the two groups can be detected based on pretesting. If significant differences exist, these variables can be controlled statistically during analysis.

Study Hypotheses

This study explores three of the five participant-level objectives through the use of multiple measures. The three participant-level objectives and corresponding study hypotheses are as follows:

Changes in Problems with Self-Esteem

Hypothesis I: Participants in the treatment group will show a greater decrease in self-esteem problems than participants in the comparison group.

Changes in Knowledge of Developmentally Appropriate Nurturing Skills

Hypothesis II: Participants in the treatment group will show a greater increase in the level of parental knowledge of appropriate nurturing skills than participants in the comparison group.

Changes in Attitudes Towards Parenting and Child-Rearing

Hypothesis III: Participants in the treatment group will show a greater decrease in inappropriate expectations of children than participants in the comparison group.

Hypothesis IV: Participants in the treatment group will show a greater increase in empathic awareness of children's needs than participants in the comparison group.

Hypothesis V: Participants in the treatment group will show a greater increase of belief in the use of alternatives to corporal punishment than participants in the comparison group.

Hypothesis VI: Participants in the treatment group will show a greater increase in non-endorsement of reversing family roles than participants in the comparison group.

Targeted Population and Sampling Procedures

Subjects for this study are female inmates incarcerated at the Virginia Correctional Center for Women (VCCW). The study sample consists of two groups; one is the experimental group and the other is the comparison group. The experimental group was taken from the inmates participating in the M.I.L.K. program at VCCW. The comparison group came from inmates also at VCCW who were on the waiting list for participation in the M.I.L.K. program, but have been unable to start the program

because of the unavailability of space in the program. All subjects were mothers who resided in the general population of the prison, not in segregated custody. All 20 inmates involved in the M.I.L.K. program at the time of the study were eligible for participation in the study and made up the experimental group. An equal number was chosen from the waiting list to comprise the comparison group. In order to participate in the study each subject was required to sign an informed consent form (see Appendices A & B). A different informed consent form was used for .the treatment and comparison groups because their levels of participation are not equal. All participation was voluntary.

MEASUREMENT AND DATA COLLECTION

This section will focus on and describe two aspects of implementing the proposed study. The first involves the specific measures to be utilized in testing the hypotheses gathering demographic and criminal history data on participants, and gathering participant's reaction to the M.I.L.K. program. The second part describes in detail the data collection procedures.

MEASURES

The measures utilized in this study include two validated standardized instruments, a newly developed instrument, a series of demographic questions, and a separate instrument designed to gather participant reactions to the program. The

following provides a description and relevant psychometric information about each standardized instrument and general descriptive information of the demographic questions and reaction form.

Participant Self-Esteem

The "Index of Self-Esteem" (ISE) (Hudson, 1982) is a 25-item scale designed to measure the degree, severity, or magnitude of a problem the client has with self-esteem (see Appendix C). Some items on the ISE include: "I feel that people would not like me if they really knew me well," "I feel that I need more self-confidence," and "I'm afraid I will appear foolish to others." Self-esteem is considered as the evaluative component of self-concept. The ISE is scored by first reverse-scoring the items listed at the bottom of the scale (3,4,5,6,14,15,18,21,22,23,25), totalling these and the other items scores, and subtracting 25. This gives a range of 0 to 100, with higher scores giving more evidence of the presence of problems with self-esteem.

The ISE has a cutting score of 30, with scores above 30 indicating the respondent has a clinically significant problem with self-esteem and scores below 30 indicating that the individual has no such problem. Another important feature of the ISE is that it is written in very simple language and is easily administered and easily scored. The ISE is a psychometrically sound measure. In terms of reliability, or

the likelihood that a given measurement procedure would yield the same description of a given phenomenon if that measurement were repeated, the ISE has an alpha of .93, indicating excellent internal consistency, and an excellent (low) S.E.M. of 3.70. The ISE also shows excellent stability with a two-hour test-retest correlation of .92.

As it relates to validity, which refers to the extent to which a specific measurement provides data that relate to commonly accepted meanings of a particular concept (Babbie, 1983), the ISE fairs very well. The ISE has good discriminant validity, significantly distinguishing between clients judged by clinicians to have problems in the area of self-esteem and those known not to. Further, the ISE has very good construct validity correlating poorly with measures with which it should not be correlating and correlating well with a range of other measures with which it should correlate highly, e.g., depression, happiness, sense of identity, and scores on the Generalized Contentment Scale (depression) (Hudson, 1982).

Knowledge of Developmentally-Appropriate Nurturing

The "Nurturing Quiz" (Bavolek, 1986) is a 26 item criterion-referenced inventory (see Appendix D). It is a multiple choice measure designed to assess a parent's knowledge of specific behavior management techniques. Questions include awareness and use of such strategies as time out, ignoring, the difference between discipline and punishment, and the development of family ties. The Nurturing

Quiz is a newly developed measure, and thus has not been assessed for reliability and validity. However, the content of the items reveals high face and content validity for the current project because it represents an opportunity to measure a very important aspect of the M.I.L.K. program; namely, changes in participants' knowledge of developmentally-relevant parenting approaches. Furthermore, an estimate of internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha) was conducted on the instrument to assess initial reliability prior to using the scores in the bivariate analyses.

Attitudes Toward Parenting and Child-Rearing

The "Adult Adolescent Parenting Inventory" (AAPI) (Bavolek, 1990) is a 32-item inventory designed to access the parenting and child rearing attitudes of adults and adolescents (see Appendix E). Some sample items include; "young children should be expected to comfort their mother when she is blue," "children should be expected to verbally express themselves before the age of one year," and "children should always be spanked when they misbehave." Subscales examined: 1) inappropriate expectations of children; 2) empathic awareness of children's needs; 3) belief in the use of corporal punishment; and 4) reversing family roles. The "Inappropriate Parental Expectations of the Child" subscale is based on the belief that abusive parents often tend to inaccurately perceive the skills and abilities of their children. Inappropriate expectations stem from the abusive

parent's own inadequate perceptions of self as well as from a lack of knowledge relative to the capabilities and needs of children at each stage of development.

The "Empathic Awareness of Children's Needs" subscale measures the degree to which a parent lacks empathy toward their children's needs. Empathic awareness of a child's needs entails the ability of a parent to understand the condition or state of mind of the child without actually experiencing the feelings of the child. Abusing parents often demonstrate the inability to be emphatically aware of their infant's or child's needs.

The "Parental Value Physical Punishment" subscale assesses parent's belief in the value of physical punishment. Abusive parents often believe babies should not be "given in to" nor allowed to "get away with anything." Abusive parents not only consider punishment a proper disciplinary measure but strongly defend their right to use physical force.

The final subscale, "Parent-Child Role Reversal", assesses abusive parents' needs to reverse parent-child roles. Parent-child role reversal is described as interchanging of traditional role behaviors between a parent and child, so that the child adopts some of the behaviors traditionally associated with parents.

The AAPI utilizes a five point Likert response format ranging from 1 = "Strongly Agree" to 5 = "Strongly Disagree."

Total subscale scores provide an index or risk for practicing abusive and neglecting parenting and child rearing behaviors. As described previously, the AAPI had four subscales. A respondent's attitudes on each of the four subscales can be compared with the parenting and child-rearing attitudes of adults and adolescents. Norm tables convert raw scores by race (black or white), status (abusive or non-abusive; abused or non-abused), sex (male or female) and age (adults or adolescents).

Estimates of reliability reveal the AAPI to be an adequate measure of parenting and child rearing attitudes. Each of the four subscales have a reported internal reliability equal to or greater than .70. Test-retest reliability estimates of the four subscales combined have been reported as .76.

The initial item pool consisted of 65 total items that were generated from existing parenting instruments and information generated from professionals in the field of child abuse. A content validity criterion of 80% agreement among experts that items were perceived as an accurate measurement of each construct was established and met, reducing the pool to 50. Item construct correlations ranging from .53 to .75 were included in the final form of the inventory. Inter-item correlations and factor analysis support the high level of construct validity of the AAPI. Years of research to

determine the diagnostic and discriminatory validity of the AAPI was conducted with over 6,500 respondents nationwide. Bavolek (1990) compared the parenting and child rearing attitudes of abusive and non-abusive parents and found abusive parents expressed significantly ($p < .001$) more abusive attitudes than non-abusive parents. In the above referenced Research and Validation report of the Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory (AAPI), he includes a doctoral dissertation abstract by J. Stone. Stone's dissertation (1980) further verified the factor structure of the AAPI with an adult population. The dissertation by Stone is titled "A Comparison of the Attitudes of Educators and their Parents Measured by Four Constructs with Child Abuse, Loyola University of Chicago, 1980 (Bavolek, 1990).

Participant Demographic and Criminal History Variables

Demographic information was gathered on all study participants by using the "Participants Demographics and Background Form" (see Appendix F), as well as by reviewing the institutional records. Demographic and background information included such information as: date of birth, race, marital status, ages and whereabouts of children, participant education, and drug history. A review of the institutional record was utilized to retrieve such information as: nature of offense, length of sentence, proximity of parole eligibility, institutional behavior, and number of previous incarcerations

(see Appendix G).

Participant Reaction Form

The "M.I.L.K. Program Survey Form" is designed to measure the degree of satisfaction participants have with the M.I.L.K. program. It is a 17 item five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = "Strongly Agree" to 5 = "Strongly Disagree". This form was administered to the treatment group only.

Sample items:

A) The quality of the program has met my expectations.

B) I have learned new ways of disciplining my child(ren) that I didn't know before that don't involve physical punishment.

C) Being in the program has given my child(ren) an opportunity to deal with me about my absence from home.

In addition to the 17 item questionnaire, a set of three qualitative questions are asked for participants to state what they: 1) like most about the program 2) like least about the program and 3) what other classes they would like to see added to the program.

Data Collection Procedures

Data for this study was collected by the researcher meeting with program participants in large group settings. Informed consent forms were explained and issued to each participant. Informed consent forms were signed, witnessed and retrieved before questionnaires were issued. There was an informed consent form for the treatment group and a separate

form for the comparison group corresponding to their differing levels of participation in the study. The researcher read each of the questionnaires aloud to respondents, carefully giving instructions and clarifying any misunderstanding. The researcher provided enough time for answers to be recorded before moving to the next item. Data collection took approximately two hours. Both treatment and comparison groups were pre-tested at the same time and place. The researcher was available following the administration of questionnaires to answer participants' questions. This same procedure was followed at post-testing. The only difference in pretesting and post-testing is that the treatment group was asked to complete the M.I.L.K. Program Survey at post-testing only to obtain feedback about the program. Criminal history data was collected during the nine weeks of M.I.L.K. classes/training. This information was accessed through record retrieval and did not involve direct participation of the research subjects.

Data Analysis

To analyze the data, the researcher utilized the University Unix/Dec system using SPSS (Statistical Packages for Social Sciences). A three stage approach was followed in analyzing these data, which involved both univariate and bivariate analyses.

Univariate Analyses

During the first stage univariate analyses were conducted on the total sample to describe the sample (demographic and criminal history variables) and determine overall values on standardized measures. The appropriate measures of central tendency and dispersion were conducted during this stage. Results on the standardized measures were compared with any existing normed data available on these measures.

Bivariate Analyses

During the second stage the appropriate bivariate analyses were used to determine if there are statistically significant differences between the treatment and comparison group participants on demographic and criminal history variables. No significant differences were detected with the exception of one of the AAPI sub-scales. This variable was controlled in further analyses.

During the third stage, bivariate analyses were used to test the study hypotheses. As the six hypotheses predict difference in change scores for treatment and comparison groups from pretesting to post-testing, a series of independent t-tests were conducted to determine if these differences are statistically significant. A more conservative, non-parametric test was also utilized for testing each of the six hypotheses. Specifically, Wilcoxon tests the hypothesis that there are no differences between two

paired samples of ordered-metric scores. The test takes into account the magnitude of the differences between paired variables (Norusis, 1993). Therefore, Wilcoxon was used to test whether there were significant differences between the pre-test and the post-test scores of each group. These analyses were conducted separately for both the treatment group and the comparison group.

Chapter IV

RESULTS

This chapter reports findings of the data. Three areas will be discussed, including descriptive information about the sample and results of univariate and bivariate analyses.

Description of the Sample

Total Sample Characteristics

The sample consisted of 40 participants distributed between the treatment group and the control group. The treatment group consisted of 20 mothers who participated in the nine week parenting classes and completed pre-tests and post-tests. There were also 20 mothers who were in the comparison group. Comparison group participants completed the pre-tests and post-tests but without benefit of the parent education classes. Data regarding selected demographic variables were collected from both groups. Table 1 outlines the characteristics on all demographic and background variables for the total sample.

- Insert Table 1 here -

The sample as a whole can be described as being primarily African-American, single, less than 35 years of age, with less than a high school education, and reporting substance abuse problems. Respondents ranged from 20 to 57 years of age with

Table 1

Demographic and Background Variables: Total Sample

Variable	Test Statistic
Age	M = 32.6
	SD = 7.5
Race	
African-American	62.5% (n=25)
Caucasian	35.0% (n=14)
Native-American	2.5% (n=1)
Marital Status	
Single	42.5% (n=17)
Married	27.5% (n=11)
Separated/Divorced	27.5% (n=11)
Widowed	2.5% (n=1)
Number of Children	
One child	22.5% (n=09)
Two Children	25.0% (n=10)
Three Children	37.5% (n=15)
Four Children	10.0% (n=4)
Five Children	5.0% (n=2)

Table 1 continued

Variable	Test Statistic
Educational Level	M = 11.4
	SD = 2.3
Drug Status	
Reports Drug Abuse Problems	70.0% (n=28)
Not Certain of Drug Problems	07.5% (n=03)
Reports No Drug Problems	22.5% (n=09)
Current Offense	
Forgery / Uttering	25.0% (n=10)
Shoplifting	30.0% (n=12)
Drug offenses	20.0% (n=08)
Murder / Manslaughter	7.5% (n=03)
Malicious Wounding	2.5% (n=01)
Burglary Robbery	10.0% (n=04)
Child Neglect	2.5% (n=01)
Other	2.5% (n=01)
Previous Offense History	
Prior Criminal Record (Convictions)	57.5% (n=23)
No Prior Criminal Record	42.5% (n=17)

Table 1 continued

Variable	Test Statistic
Institutional Infractions	
Institutional Rules Violated	67.5% (n=27)
No Violation of Institutional Rules	32.5% (n=13)
Parole Eligibility	
Passed Discretionary Parole Eligibility Date	55.0% (n=22)
Not Yet Parole Eligible	45.5% (n=18)
Sentence	
Five years	10.0% (n=04)
Six to Ten Years	32.5% (n=13)
Eleven to Fifteen Years	17.5% (n=06)
Sixteen to Nineteen Years	25.0% (n=10)
Twenty to Forty Years	15.0% (n=07)

a mean age of 32.7 years (SD = 7.4). African-Americans comprised 63.5% (n = 25) of the sample. Caucasians make up 32% (n = 14), followed by Native Americans with 2.5% (n = 1). The breakdown of marital status is as follows: Forty-two and one-half percent (n = 17) were single, 27.5% (n = 11) were married, 27.5% (n = 11) were separated or divorced, and the remaining 2.5% (n = 1) were widowed. All participants were mothers with a modal frequency of three children.

Educationally, 65% (n = 26) of the participants had less than a high school education. However, of that 65%, 52.5% (n = 21) of the sample reached the tenth or eleventh grade. Twenty-five percent (n = 10) of the sample reported having continued their education beyond the high school level. As for the GED (General Educational Diploma), 32.5% (n = 13) reported having earned the GED.

The majority of sample respondents also reported that they have drug use problems. Seventy percent (n = 28) admitted to having drug problems. Seven and one-half percent (n = 3) reported that they were not sure of their drug problem status. Twenty-two and one-half percent (n = 9) reported that they do not have a drug problem.

Crimes committed by the sample leaned heavily in the direction of property offenses. Twenty-five percent (n = 10) were incarcerated for property offenses and 30% (n=12) were incarcerated for shoplifting. This results in a total of 55%

(n = 22) being incarcerated for property offenses. Drug offenses rated as the second most frequent crime category for sample participants. Drug offenses were responsible for 20% (n = 8) of the offenses reported.

Violent offenses were also represented in the sample. Seven and one-half percent (n = 3) were incarcerated for murder or manslaughter. Ten percent (n = 4) of the sample were incarcerated for burglary or robbery. Two and one-half percent were incarcerated for malicious wounding (n = 1). The remaining five percent were incarcerated for either child neglect (2.5%, n = 1) or 'other' (2.5%, n = 1). The majority of the respondents have a prior criminal record. Fifty-seven and one-half percent (n = 23) reported that they have a previous offense history. Forty-two and one-half percent (n = 17) reported no previous offense history.

A majority of the respondents were found to have violated institutional rules. Sixty-seven and one-half percent (n = 27) have committed institutional infractions. Records showed that 32.5% (n = 13) remained free of institutional infractions.

Even though Virginia has recently passed legislation abolishing parole, parole remains an option for this sample population. Fifty-five percent (n = 22) of sample participants have been reviewed for and denied parole at least once. Forty-five percent (n = 18) have not been reviewed by

the Parole Board. Participants' sentences ranged from five years to forty years (M = 13.6 SD = 8.3), and months remaining to parole eligibility date ranged from 6 months to 44 months (M = 5.03, SD = 9.4).

Sub-Sample Characteristics

Due to the fact that subjects were assigned to treatment or comparison groups on a non-random basis, efforts were taken to ensure that these two groups were equivalent. Demographic and background variables were tested using chi-square and t-test statistics. The results of the test statistics are shown in Table 2. No significant differences were found on any demographic or background variable.

- Insert Table 2 here -

The two groups were also tested to determine if there were differences in pre-test scores on any of the 6 sub-scales. Table 3 shows the breakdown of the differences in the pre-tests scores for the treatment and comparison groups. The only statistically significant difference in the pre-test scores between the two groups was on one sub-scale of the "Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory." Specifically, the no-treatment comparison group showed lower mean scores on the "Inappropriate Expectations of the Child" sub-scale (M = 24.7, SD = 3.31) than the treatment group (M = 27.2, SD = 3.00)

Table 2

Differences Between Treatment and Comparison Groups on Demographic and Background Variables

Variable	Treatment Group	Comparison Group	Test Statistic
Age	M = 33.3	M = 32.1	t(38) = .53 ns
	SD = 5.8	SD = 8.9	
Race			x^2 (2) = 1.33 ns
African American	60% (n = 12)	65% (n = 13)	
Caucasian	40% (n = 08)	30% (n = 06)	
Native American	0% (n = 0)	5% (n = 01)	
Marital Status			x^2 (3) = 1.71 ns
Single	50% (n = 10)	35% (n = 07)	
Married	25% (n = 05)	30% (n = 06)	
Separated/ Divorced	25% (n = 05)	30% (n = 06)	
Widowed	0% (n = 0)	5% (n = 01)	
Children	M = 2.5	M = 2.5	t(38) = .00 ns
	SD = 3.0	SD = 3.3	
Education	M = 11.3	M = 11.6	t(38) = -.34 ns
	SD = 1.9	SD = 2.7	
GED Status			x^2 (1) = .11 ns
Yes =	30% (n = 06)	35% (n = 07)	
No =	70% (n = 14)	65% (n = 13)	

Table 2 continued

Variable	Treatment Group	Comparison Group	Test Statistic
Substance Abuse Problems			x^2 (2) = .44 ns
Yes	70% (n = 14)	70% (n = 14)	
No	20% (n = 04)	25% (n = 05)	
Not Sure	10% (n = 02)	5% (n = 01)	
Current Offense			x^2 (7) = 3.73 ns
Forgery	30% (n = 06)	20% (n =04)	
Drug Offense	20% (n = 04)	20% (n =04)	
Murder/ Manslaughter	5% (n = 01)	10% (n =02)	
Shoplifting/ Theft	30% (n = 06)	30% (n = 06)	
Burgulary/ Robbery	10% (n = 02)	10% (n = 02)	
Malicious/ Wounding	0% (n = 0)	5% (n = 01)	
Child/ Neglect	5% (n = 01)	0% (n = 0)	
Other	0% (n = 0)	5% (n = 01)	
Previous Offense History			x^2 (1) = .10 ns
Yes	55% (n = 11)	60% (n = 12)	
No	45% (n = 09)	40% (n = 08)	

Table 2 continued

Variable	Treatment Group	Comparison Group	Test Statistic
Institutional Infractions			χ^2 (1) = 1.03 ns
Yes	60% (n = 12)	75% (n = 15)	
No	40% (n = 08)	25% (n = 05)	
Parole Eligibility (in months)	M = 7.45	M = 2.60	
	SD = 11.35	SD = 6.32	t(38) = .38 ns
Sentence (in months)	M = 166.6	M = 159.4	
	SD = 95.2	SD = 106.5	t(38) = .23 ns

indicating more problems in this area for the subjects in the comparison group.

- Insert Table 3 here -

Univariate Analysis

Instrumentation Reliability

Estimates of internal consistency were obtained for the three standardized instruments used in the study based on Cronbach's alpha. Reliability coefficients for the six scales or sub-scales are within acceptable levels ranging from .66 to .93, and are consistent with previously reported reliability data (Bavolek, 1984; Hudson, 1982). Table 4 summarizes the reliability information for all six scales.

- Insert Table 4 here -

Instrumentation: Measures of Central Tendency and Dispersion

Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory (AAPI)

The Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory (AAPI) is designed to assist professional and para-professionals in assessing the parenting and child rearing attitudes of adolescent and adult populations. The AAPI was developed from the known parenting practices of abusive and neglecting parents. Data generated from the administration of the AAPI indicated degrees of agreement and disagreement with

Table 3

Differences Between Treatment and Comparison Groups on Pre-Tests Scores

Scale	Treatment Group	Comparison Group	Test Statistic
Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory			
Inappropriate Expectations Sub-scale	M = 27.2 SD = 3.0	M = 24.7 SD = 3.3	t(38) = 2.50 *
Lack of Empathy Sub-scale	M = 32.4 SD = 5.3	M = 31.5 SD = 4.5	t(38) = .58 ns
Physical Punishment Sub-scale	M = 40.5 SD = 6.6	M = 37.5 SD = 6.9	t(38) = 1.41 ns
Role Reversal Sub-scale	M = 31.1 SD = 6.8	M = 27.2 SD = 6.2	t(38) = 1.92 ns
Nurturing Quiz	M = 15.9 SD = 3.8	M = 16.7 SD = 3.8	t(38) = -.62 ns
Index of Self Esteem	M = 39.3 SD = 22.56	M = 44.0 SD = 24.06	t(38) = -.63 ns

* $p < .05$

Table 4

Reliability Coefficients of Instrumentation: Cronbach's alpha

Instrument	Number of Items	Reliability Co-efficients Pre-test	Post-test
Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory			
Inappropriate Parental Expectations of the Child	6	.72	.69
Lack of Empathy Towards Children's Needs	8	.74	.82
Parental Value of Physical Punishment	10	.80	.85
Parent-Child Role Reversal	8	.85	.93
Nurturing Quiz	26	.66	.71
Index of Self Esteem	25	.93	.92

maladaptive parenting behaviors. As such, responses on the AAPI provide an index of risk for practicing abusive and neglecting parenting and child rearing behaviors (Bavolek, 1984). In interpreting AAPI scores, higher scores are indicative of more appropriate (desirable) parenting behaviors and lower scores are indicative of less appropriate (undesirable) parenting behaviors.

The AAPI is a standardized measure. Sampling considerations during validation studies included geographic region, urban and rural settings, ethnic group, sex, socioeconomic status, and age. The total sampling population involved 8,806 adults and adolescents in the standardization of the AAPI. The following paragraphs provide descriptive information of each of the four sub-scales of the AAPI.

Inappropriate Parental Expectations of the Child Sub-scale. The possible range of scores on the "Inappropriate Parental Expectations of the Child" sub-scale is from 0 to 30. In the current sample, the pre-test mean equals 26.0 (range = 19 to 30), with a standard deviation of 3.3. High scores on this sub-scale indicate a realistic understanding of the developmental capabilities of children, as well as a general acceptance of developmental limitations.

The initial normative study, conducted in Wisconsin, for the "Inappropriate Expectations for Children" sub-scale involved 24 parents charged with physical abuse by the Department of Social Services and 47 non-abusive parents (Bavolek, 1984). It reported a mean of 23.3 (SD = 3.8) for

black adult females who were known to be abusive, and for abusive white adult females it reported a mean of 24.0 (SD = 3.7). Results from the current study were compared to normed data for both abusive white and abusive black females. The mean of 26.0 of the current sample is higher than the normed mean for either abusive white females (M = 23.56) or abusive black females (M = 22.91) (Bavolek, 1984). This suggests that the current sample may have less negative attitudes in the area of inappropriate expectations of the child than abusive mothers in general.

Lack of Empathy Sub-scale. The possible range of scores on the "Lack of Empathy" sub-scale is from 0 to 40. In the current sample the pre-test mean equals 32.0 (range = 21 to 40) with a standard deviation of 4.9. High scores on this sub-scale indicate appropriate empathetic awareness of a child's needs, which entails the ability of a parent to understand the condition or state of mind of the child without actually experiencing the feeling of the child. The initial normative study included 47 parents (Bavolek, 1984). It reported a mean of 32.8 (SD = 4.5) for abusive black adult females and a mean of 33.7 for abusive white adult females. Results of the current study were compared with normed data for abusive white females and abusive black females. The mean of 32 of the current sample is higher than the normed mean for either abusive white females (M = 30.4) or abusive black females (M = 28.36). This indicates that the current sample may have less negative attitudes in the area of lack of

empathy for the child than the abusive mothers in general.

Belief in Corporal Punishment Sub-scale. The possible range of scores on the "Physical Punishment" sub-scale is from 0 to 50. In the current sample, the pre-test mean equals 39.0 (range = 20 to 50) with a standard deviation of 6.8. High scores in "Corporal Punishment" indicate that the caregiver values the well being and self-concept of the child and utilizes alternative non-abusive means to punish and discipline. Generally, individuals who score high in corporal punishment have knowledge of and use time out, praise, ignoring, and choices and consequences as alternatives to hitting. A normative study of 47 parents reported a mean of 34.6 (SD = 6.7) for abusive black adult females and a mean of 36.7 (SD = 6.7) for abusive white adult females (Bavolek, 1984). Results of the current study were compared to normed data for both abusive white and abusive black. The mean of 39 of the current sample is higher than the normed mean for either abusive white females (M = 35.6) or abusive black females (M = 33.4). This suggests that the current sample may have less negative attitudes in the area of belief in corporal punishment than abusive mothers in general.

Reversing Parent-Child Family Roles Sub-scale. The possible range of scores on the "Role Reversal" sub-scale is from 0 to 40. In the current sample the pre-test mean equals 29.1 (range = 15 to 40) with a standard deviation of 6.7. The initial normative study for this sub-scale reported a mean of 28.9 (SD = 5.9) for abusive black adult females and a mean of

30.6 (SD = 5.6) for abusive white adult females (Bavolek, 1984). The results of the current sample were compared with normed data for both abusive white and abusive black females. The mean of 29.1 is higher than the normed mean for either abusive white females (M = 28.8) or abusive black females (M = 25.0). This suggests that the current sample may have less negative attitudes in the area of role reversals of the child with the parent than the abusive mothers in general.

Nurturing Quiz

The "Nurturing Quiz" is a measure designed to assess a parent's knowledge of specific positive behavior management techniques. Item responses were classified as correct or incorrect. The possible range of scores was from 0 to 26, with the current sample scores ranging from 8 to 25. In the current sample, the pre-test mean equals 16.3 (range = 8 to 25), with a standard deviation of 3.3. In a previous study (Bavolek & Bavolek, 1986) of abusive families, a pre-test mean of 15.2 was reported. In comparison, the sample was only slightly higher than the normative sample, indicating that the participants in the current study have a need for knowledge regarding positive nurturing skills.

Index of Self-Esteem (ISE)

The "Index of Self-Esteem" (ISE) is a clinical scale designed to assess the degree, severity or magnitude of problems with self-esteem. This scale has a range of 0 to 100, with a cutting point of 30 or above signifying a degree of problems with self-esteem that is clinically significant.

Based on previous research, utilization of the cutting point of 30 yields only 8.3 false positive (or subjects classified as having clinically significant problems with self-esteem, when they do not) and 25.0% false negatives (or subjects classified as not having problems with self-esteem when they do have such problems). The overall error is 17.7% which is quite good as compared to many other different types of measurements' scales (Hudson, 1982).

Using these parameters as a frame of reference, the current sample shows a pre-test mean of 41.63 (range = 6 to 100) with a standard deviation of 23.1. This overall mean indicates that the sample as a whole reveals clinical problems with self-esteem. Utilizing the clinical cutting point of 30, 62.5% of the sample have clinically significant problems in this area.

Bivariate Analyses

The following section presents results from a series of bivariate analyses utilized to test the six hypotheses of the current study. Each hypothesis was tested through the use of two different statistical techniques.

First, as each hypothesis predicted that there would be significant differences between the treatment group and the comparison group as a result of the intervention, independent t-test were conducted. This parametric test is appropriate for investigating whether differences noted in means on an interval or ratio variable between two independent samples are due to chance or due to real differences between the two

groups. The t-test is appropriate for small samples, but also requires that the variable being compared must be approximately normally distributed in the population and that the sample be chosen without bias from the population. As the current study utilized a non-random sampling procedure to obtain participants, there is no assurance that these two assumptions have been met. However, for some procedures, assumptions may be violated without major negative consequences. In the case of the t-test, departure from normality can often be tolerated (Norusis, 1990).

In conducting the t-test, comparison of change scores (post-test minus pre-test) were utilized, rather than comparing the two group's post-test scores. Change scores are the preferred comparison when there are significant differences in pre-test scores, as there were in this study on "Inappropriate Expectations of the Child sub-scale".

A more conservative, non-parametric test was also utilized for testing each of the six hypotheses. Specifically, Wilcoxon tests the hypothesis that there are no differences between two paired samples of ordered-metric scores. The test takes into account the magnitude of the differences between paired variables (Norusis, 1993). Therefore, Wilcoxon was used to test whether there were significant differences between the pre-test and the post-test scores of each group. These analyses were conducted separately for both the treatment group and the comparison group.

Hypothesis Testing: Independent t-test

There were six study hypotheses explored statistically. Each hypothesis was tested utilizing the independent t-test. The six study hypotheses were as follows:

Hypothesis I: Participants in the treatment group will show a greater decrease in self-esteem problems than participants in the comparison group.

Hypothesis II: Participants in the treatment group will show a greater increase in the level of parental knowledge of appropriate nurturing skills than participants in the comparison group.

Hypothesis III: Participants in the treatment group will show a greater decrease in appropriate expectations of children than participants in the comparison group.

Hypothesis IV: Participants in the treatment group will show a greater increase in the empathic awareness of children's needs than participants in the comparison group.

Hypothesis V: Participants in the treatment group will show a greater increase of belief in the use of alternatives to corporal punishment than participants in the comparison group.

Hypothesis VI: Participants in the treatment group will show a greater increase in non-endorsement of reversing family roles than participants in the comparison group.

Using t-test to determine if there were significant differences between the treatment and comparison groups on change scores for the six measures, no significant differences

supported using this statistical test.

- Insert Table 5 here -

In reviewing the direction of change scores for the two groups, the treatment group did show changes in the desired direction in four areas. Specifically, positive directional change occurred on the "Lack of Empathy for the Child" sub-scale, the "Belief in Corporal Punishment" sub-scale, the "Reversing Parent-Child Family Roles" sub-scale, and on the "Nurturing Quiz." However, the comparison group also showed changes in the desired direction in the four areas, although in two of these areas the change was not as great as for the treatment group.

Separate Group Analyses: Wilcoxon Test

Given the results reported above, additional analyses were conducted in all six areas using Wilcoxon non-parametric test. Analyses were completed separately for each group.

Of the six Wilcoxon analyses conducted with the treatment group, only one revealed statistically significant differences between pre-test and post-test scores. Specifically, participants in the treatment group revealed significantly higher scores on the "Nurturing Quiz": at post-testing from pre-testing (M = 10.71 vs. M = 5.25, respectively; z = -2.81, p = .005). This indicates an overall increase in knowledge

Table 5

Differences in Change Scores Between Treatment and Comparison Groups on Six Measures: Independent Student's t-test.

Measure	Treatment Group (n = 20)	Comparison Group (n = 20)	t
Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory			
Inappropriate Expectations Sub-scale	M = -.30 SD = 3.25	M = .45 SD = 3.22	- .73 ns
Lack of Empathy Sub-scale	M = 1.10 SD = 3.41	M = -.25 SD = 4.18	1.12 ns
Physical Punishment Sub-scale	M = .35 SD = 3.15	M = .15 SD = 6.72	.12 ns
Role Reversal Sub-scale	M = .65 SD = 4.10	M = 1.20 SD = 5.17	-.37 ns
Nurturing Quiz	M = 2.15 SD = 2.96	M = .60 SD = 3.17	1.60 ns
Index of Self Esteem	M = -3.10 SD = 14.30	M = -1.86 SD = 9.48	-.31 ns

about positive child management techniques.

No significant pre-test post-test differences were noted in any of the five remaining areas. However, in three areas, at least 10 of 20 participants showed changes in the desired direction. The three areas showing positive directional change were "Empathy for the Child," "Reversing Parent-Child Family Roles" and "Self-Esteem" (see Table 6).

- Insert Table 6 here -

As with the treatment group, six Wilcoxon analyses were conducted with the comparison group. No statistically significant differences were revealed between pre-test and post-test scores. However, the comparison group had 10 of 20 participants do better in three areas. Improvement was noted in the areas of "Inappropriate Expectations of the Child", "Nurturing" and "Self-Esteem" (see Table 7).

- Insert Table 7 here -

Participant Evaluation

Treatment group participants were also asked to complete the "M.I.L.K. Program Satisfaction Survey" after the completion of the last session of the training. The program satisfaction survey consisted of 17 Likert-type scale questions and 3 open ended questions. The response format for the Likert-type scale was designed as follows: 1 = Strongly

Table 6

Differences In Pre-Test And Post-Test Scores On Six Measures: Treatment Group: Wilcoxon Non-Parametric Test.

Variables	Number of Participant Scores In Desired Direction	Z
Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory		
Inappropriate Expectations	8	-.38 ns
Lack of Empathy	10	-1.42 ns
Belief in Corporal Punishment	8	-.31 ns
Reversing Parent-Child Family Roles	10	-.57 ns
Nurturing Quiz	14	- 2.81 *
Index of Self Esteem	12	-1.36 ns

* $p \leq .005$

Table 7

Differences In Pre-Test And Post-Test Scores On Six Measures for Comparison Group: Wilcoxon Non-Parametric Test.

Variables	Number of Participant Scores In Desired Direction	Z
Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory		
Inappropriate Expectations	11	-.24 ns
Lack of Empathy	7	-.02 ns
Belief in Corporal Punishment	7	-.59 ns
Reversing Parent-Child Family Roles	10	-.78 ns
Nurturing Quiz	10	-.74 ns
Index of Self Esteem	12	-1.04 ns

Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither Disagree or Agree, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree. In the open ended questions, participants were asked a variety of questions about the program, ranging from the fairness of the program selection process to the degree of impact on the participant mother and her particular situation. All 20 treatment group participants completed the survey.

The possible range of scores on the "Program Satisfaction Survey" is 0 to 85. The current sample, which has a range of 47 to 81, with a mean of 64.6 (SD = 9.4), indicating a relatively high level of satisfaction with the program overall. Table 8 illustrates data on each satisfaction survey item. These data show that program participants were generally satisfied with individual aspects of the program, as well (see Table 8). The top 3 items along with their percentage of participant agreement (Agree or Strongly Agree) were:

1. Program training provided information that can be used on a day to day basis. (95%)
2. The program selection process is fair. (90%)
3. The quality of the program met participant's expectations. (85%)

- Insert Table 8 here -

In the narrative section of the survey, participants were asked about what they liked most about the program, what they

Table 8

M.I.L.K. Program Satisfaction Survey: Percentage of Participants Rating Item as Agree or Strongly Agree.

Survey Item	Percentage	n
Program selection process is fair.	90%	n = 18
The Program has improved my outlook on life.	75%	n = 17
The Program gives a sense of hope.	80%	n = 16
Program training provided information that can be used on a day to day basis.	95%	n = 19
Program Participation improved participant's institutional behavior.	55%	n = 11
The quality of the program met participant's expectations.	85%	n = 17
The Program has enhanced participant's relationship with their children.	75%	n = 15
The program has helped participant to better resolve conflict with family or caretaker.	75%	n = 15
The program improved participant's knowledge of child development.	65%	n = 13
The training has provided participant with new ways of disciplining their children that do not involve physical punishment.	80%	n = 16
Participant feels more confident as a parent as a result of the program.	80%	n = 16
The program has provided participant with the knowledge of useful services that they can access upon release from prison.	65%	n = 13

Table 8 continued

Survey Item	Percentage	n
As a result of the training participant understands more about themselves and their families.	75%	n = 15
The program has helped participant to function more successfully in the institution.	60%	n = 12
Program participation has meant more involvement with family during their incarceration.	55%	n = 11
The program had given participant's children an opportunity to confront their mother about her absence from home.	55%	n = 11
Since being involved in the program, visits with participant's children have been more happy and productive rather than sad and depressing.	60%	n = 12

liked least about the program, and they were also asked aboutwhat should be changed about the program. The following statements are typical of the participant's comments regarding what they liked most about the program:

- "I liked learning parenting skills because I had none at all."
- "It helped me understand more about my children, myself, and the caregivers of my children."
- "I liked all the information on how to care for my children and how to discipline my children."
- "I like how it taught me the better way to communicate with with my kids."
- "I learned more about my children's development at the ages they are now."
- "The MILK program will enable me to see my daughter because I've seen her only once in the 19 months since I've been here."

The comments about what they liked least about the program were all directed to not having enough time for more discussion. Such comments included:

- "I feel like we didn't spend enough time talking about discipline alternatives."
- "There was enough time (most of the time) to cover all of the subjects in each program."
- "There just wasn't enough time for some of the class presentations. I think the main problem was getting the women to the groups in time. So a more structured time frame would help the program. Maybe I should say extra time."
- "We didn't have enough time for our class and I wish we had more time."
- "Some of the more interesting topics were cut short because of time. Besides that there wasn't anything else I didn't like."

The following are typical responses to the question of what should be added to the program or changed about the program:

- "I think all of the classes were well done and all of the classes were informative."
- "I can't think of anything."
- "None."
- "The program is excellent. I know there's always room for improvement in anything, but right now the program needs none."
- "More information on 15 (year old children) and up maybe."
- "How to play with your child. How to introduce yourself to your child if they have no idea who you are."

A discussion of the limitations of the current study, a summary and interpretation of the results, and a presentation of implications of the study results for public policy and further research are provided in the following chapter.

Chapter V

Discussion and Implications

Limitations of the Current Study

The results of this research must be interpreted within the limitations of the current study. This section will point out the study's major limitations. In regards to study limitations, the areas of concern include: sampling; design; measures; and possible contamination issues.

Sampling

The sample size for this study was small. In addition to the sample being small it also was also a non-probability (non-random) sample. As such, it cannot be considered representative of the population at large and results cannot be generalized beyond the current sample.

Design

The study design was a 2 group non-equivalent study without the benefit of random assignment. Therefore, selection, or the characteristics of the subjects in the two groups, could have affected results. However, the pre-test on demographics and scale scores at least lets us know that the two groups were equivalent on the demographic variables and scale scores utilized in the study, with exception of scores on one sub-scale. This means that we can be relatively sure that the two groups were equivalent on the most important variables.

Measures

Of the measures utilized in the study, the Adult-Adolescent Inventory (AAPI), which revealed somewhat high pre-test scores for the two groups, may not have been the most appropriate measure to be selected. Furthermore, by selecting the AAPI the researcher may be assuming that abusive attitudes exist when that may not be that case.

The Index of Self-Esteem (ISE) is an appropriate measure regarding instrument reliability and validity. However, it may be "unfair" to expect the M.I.L.K. program to have affected, at least statistically, such a complex, hard to change, area of personal development and functioning.

Contamination Issue

There is a real possibility of "bleeding effects" occurring between the two groups. The prison (VCCW), is a closed environment with many opportunities occurring outside of the program for study participants from the two groups to interact. Study participants from the two groups may have even lived in the same housing unit further increasing the frequency of their interaction. Also, the unknown effects of other, current or past, treatment programs may have contaminated the results of this study.

Summary and Discussion of Findings

Given the limitations of the Study just discussed, the M.I.L.K. program showed positive effects regarding the

acquisition of knowledge of appropriate parenting techniques. However, the program did not appear to have an impact on parenting attitudes or problems with self-esteem.

There are several possible reasons for these findings. It may be that there were actually no effects on attitudes or self-esteem. It is also plausible that, given the, high scores on the AAPI to begin with, there was little room for change. Study participants may not have had a problem in this area to be impacted by the intervention.

The complexity of self-esteem may require the examination of many other factors before reaching conclusive findings. For this reason, it may have been inappropriate to focus on self-esteem. To have low self-esteem means that the individual lacks respect for him or her self, considers himself unworthy, inadequate, or otherwise seriously deficient as a person (Rosenberg, 1986). There are many factors, those listed above and others, that contribute to the formation of self-esteem that were not addressed by the M.I.L.K. program per se.

The impact that the prison environment may have on an individual and whether this impact is short term or long term, may be yet another factor in the composition of the inmate's self-esteem. In one study the prison environment was found to make self-esteem scores go down (Weitzel & Blount, 1982).

Even though parenting attitudes and self-esteem appear

harder to change, there still exist the possibility that perhaps with more intensive treatment over a longer period of time, results may be more positive.

Implications of Study for Programming

This study illuminates the several areas that should be considered for further program development. One such area has to do with the length of training. A longer exposure to training might produce stronger results. Another consideration might be a more intensive focus on self-esteem issues. In so doing the program may address the participant's ability to satisfy her self-perceived needs as a way of influencing self-esteem (Wylie, 1961).

Since a high percentage of study participants admitted to having substance abuse problems, it may be effective for the program to build in a strong substance abuse treatment module. Within the substance abuse training module, a component could be dedicated to addressing the effect of parental substance abuse on children.

Implications of Study for Public Policy and Public Administration

This study provides policy makers with empirical information that supports the notion that parenting skills can be impacted during incarceration. The notion that parenting training positively impacts self-esteem was not supported by the study. What does this all mean for public policy makers

and public administration? Assuming that the quality of parenting impacts values formation in children, the impact of positive parenting can be far reaching. Policy makers need to be both concerned about the inmate mother and her children. In addition to addressing the needs of female offenders, the impact on their offspring should not be ignored. Policy makers and public administrators need to be proactive and take steps on measures that would de-escalate the increase of incarceration rates. The prisons being built now aren't being built to necessarily house today's offenders. They are being built based on projections of the need to incarcerate those individuals who are now teenagers, younger children, or perhaps not yet born. These projections are the direct result of skyrocketing juvenile incarceration rates.

Policy makers need to think outside of the boundaries of their individual boxes. Policy makers and public administrators need to think and plan across systems instead of ignoring those factors, such as poor parenting, that will ultimately increase difficulties for the system or agency they are trying to protect. This writer is suggesting that working proactively with the female offender provides a tremendous opportunity for policy makers to perhaps slow down the trend toward intergenerational incarceration.

It does not appear the Commonwealth of Virginia or the nation as a whole, will be able to build their way out of the

corrections crisis. In Virginia a new prison for women, Pocahontas Correctional Center, was opened in 1995, and a third prison is scheduled for 1998. It is not wise that we mortgage our future on prison cells alone. It is important that policy makers take a fresh look at correctional policies which are applied to female offenders but premised upon a male population. New policies need to be specifically designed to address the special needs of the growing female population.

Implications of Study for Further Research

It is recommended that further research should focus more intensely on the acquisition of parenting knowledge, attitudes, and behavior. Additional research is needed to follow-up program participants as they experience all day visits with their children and also after they are released from prison. It is recommended that this subject matter be explored utilizing a different research design. Instead of a pre-test/post-test design, the utilization of a repeated measures design to track progress throughout the intervention may yield different results. Also the possible inclusion of different variables and other measures may result in broader findings. Some different variables that could be explored include: parenting stress; parent child bonding; efficacy of parenting role; health of mother/child; to name a few.

Findings of this study contribute to the limited research concerning incarcerated mothers. In order to gauge the impact

that parenting training has on recidivism, a long term study is needed and recommended.

References

Adler, F. (1975). Sisters in Crime: Rise of the New Female Criminal. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Babbie, E. (1983). The Practice of Social Research. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Inc.

Barry, E. (1985), March/April)."Children of Prisoners, Punishing the Innocent." Youth Law News, San Francisco, CA: Legal Services for Children, 12-18.

Baunach, P. (1985). Mothers in Prison. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books.

Bavolek, S. (1984). "An Innovative Program for Reducing Abusive Parent-child Interactions." Child Resource World Review, 2 pp. 6-24.

Bavolek, S. (1990). Research and Validation Report of the Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory. Park City, UT: Family Development Resources, Inc.

Bavolek, S. ; and Bavolek, J. (1986). "Increasing skills of Families in Head Start: Validation of the Nurturing Program for Parents and Children Birth to Five Years." Family Development Resources, Eau Claire, Wisconsin.

Berkerman, A. (1989). "Incarcerated Mothers and Their Children in Foster Care. The Dilemma of Visitation." Children and Youth Services Review. 11.

Berkerman, A. (unpublished Manuscript). "The Rest of the Sentence: In the Best Interest of Foster Children with Incarcerated Mothers," Abraham Fischler Center for the Advancement of Education, Nova University, Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

Bershad, L. (1985). Discriminatory Treatment of the Female Offender In the Criminal Justice System. Boston College Law School.

Bloom, B.; and Stienhard, D. (1993). Why Punish the Children? A Reappraisal of the Children of Incarcerated Mothers in America. San Francisco, CA: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

Boudouris, J. (1985). Parents and Kids: Programs for Inmate Parents. College Park, Maryland: American Correctional Association.

Brodsky, A. (1975). The Female Offender. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Company.

Bowker, L. (1978). Women, Crime and the Criminal Justice System. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books.

Bowker, L. (1981). Women and Crime in America. New York: MacMillan.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. United States Department of Justice. Report to the Nation on Crime and Justice. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Justice, 1988.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. United States Department of Justice Statistics Special Report: Women in Jail, 1989. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Justice, March 1992.

Camp, G.; and Camp, C. (1987). The Corrections Yearbook. South Salem, New York: Criminal Justice Institute.

Carlson, N. (1980). Needs of Female Inmates No Longer Ignored by Prisons. Justice Assistance News.

Carrol, H. (1980). "Children of Prisoners: Effects of Parental Absence." Yale University Child Study Center, Unpublished.

Chapman, J. (1980). Economic Realities of the Female Offender. Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books.

Chesney-Lind, M. (1978). Chivalry Reexamined: Women and the Criminal Justice System. Lexington, Mass: D.C. Heath.

Clausen, C. (1968). Socialization and Society. Boston: Little and Brown.

Clement, M. (1993). "Parenting in Prison: A National Survey of Programs for Incarcerated Women." Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, Vol. 19 (1/2) pp. 89-100.

Clement, M.; and Schuchert, J. (1992). Development and Implementation of M.I.L.K. Programs in Correctional Facilities. Virginians for Child Abuse Prevention, Inc., Richmond, VA.

Cornell, B. (1990). "The View from Behind Bars." Reported in the Times Magazine, November, 1990, 20-23.

Cowie, J.; Cowie, V.; and Slater. E. (1968). Delinquency in Girls. London, Heinemann Educational.

Crites, L. (1976). The Female Offender. Mass.: Lexington Books.

Daehlin, D.; and Haynes, J. (1974). A Mothers' Discussion Group In a Women's Prison. Child Welfare, 53 (7).

Dobash, R.; Dobash, E.; and Gutteridge, S. (1986). The Imprisonment of Women. New York: Basil Blackwell, Ltd.

Dubose, D. (1977). Women In Prison: A Neglected Issue. Arlington, TX: University of Texas at Arlington.

Feinman, C. (1984). "A Historical Overview of the Treatment of Incarcerated Women: Myths and Realities of Rehabilitation." The Prison Journal, 63, (2).

Fishman, S. (1982). "The Impact of Incarceration on Children of Offenders." Journal of Children in Contemporary Society (15).

Frey, D.; and Carlock, (1989). Enhancing Self-Esteem. Muncie, Indiana: Accerated Development, Inc.

Fritsch, T.; and Burkhead, J. (1981). "Parental Absence Due to Imprisonment." Family Relations, January, 1981.

Gabel, S. (1992). "Children of Incarcerated and Criminal Parents: Adjustment, Behavior, and Prognosis." Bulletin of American Academy of Psychiatry and Law, Vol. 20, Number 1.

Gaudin, J. (1984). "Social Work Roles and Tasks with Incarcerated Mothers." Social Casework, 65.

Glick, R. (1977). "National Study of Women's Correctional Programs." Funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U. S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Goetting, A.; and Howsen, M. (1983). "Women in Prison: A Profile." A paper presented at the 1983 annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, March 22-26, 1983, San Antonio, Texas.

Goldstein, J.; Frued, A.; and Solnit, J. (1973). Beyond the Best Interest of the Child. New York: Free Press.

Gora, J. (1982). The New Female Criminal. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Gordan, J. (1991). "The Female Offender - ACA's Look to the Future." Federal Prison's Journal, Spring 1991. Publishers.

Henriques, Z. (1982). Imprisoned Mothers and their Children: A Descriptive and Analytical Study. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.

Holt, N., and Miller, D. (1972). Explanations In Inmate Family Relationships. Published by the California Department of Corrections, Research Division.

Hudson, W. (1982). The Clinical Measurement Package: A Field Manual. Chicago: Dorsey.

Inglehart, A.; and Stein, M. (1985). "The Female Offender: A Forgotten Client?" Social Work: The Journal of Contemporary Social Work (March 1985).

Johnston, D. (1992). "Helping Children of Offenders Through Intervention Programs." Offenders Families, 238-244.

Kiser, G. (1991). "Female Inmates and Their Families." Federal Probation, (September 1991).

Komarovsky, M. (1976). Dilemmas of Masculinity: A Study of College Youth. New York: Norton.

LeFlore, L.; and Holston, M. (1989). "Perceived Importance of Parenting Behaviors as reported by Inmate Mothers: An Exploratory Study." Journal of Offender Counseling, Services and Rehabilitation, Vol. 14 (1), 1989.

Lekkerkerker, E. (1931). Reformatories for Women in the United States.

Leonard, E. B. (1982). Women, Crime, and Society: A Critique of Criminology Theory. New York: Longman.

Lombroso, C. (1920). The Female Offender. New York: Appleton.

McCarthy, B. (1980). "Inmate Mothers: The Problems of Separation and Reintegration." Journal of Offender Counseling, Services and Rehabilitation, Vol 4 (3), Spring 1980.

McGowan, B.; and Blumenthanl, K. (1978). Why Punish the Children? Hackensack, New Jersey: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1978.

McGowan, B.; and Blumenthal, K. (1976). Children of Women Prisoners: A Forgotten Minority. In Laura Crites, (Ed.). The Female Offender. Lexington, Mass.: Heath.

Mead, G. H. (1934). Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

Moyer, Imogene (1992). The Changing Roles of Women in the Criminal Justice System: Offenders, Victims, and Professionals. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc.

Moyer, Imogene (1985). "Academic Criminology: A Need for Change." American Journal of Criminal Justice IX.

Mustin, J. (1987). Family and Corrections Network: Research and Background. Waynesboro, VA.: Longman, Inc.

Naffine, N. (1987). Female Crime: The Construction of Women in Criminology. Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Norusis, M. (1990). The SPSS Guide to Data Analysis for Release 4, SPSS INC. Staff Ed.

Norusis, M. (1993). SPSS for Unix Advanced Statistics. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Petros, J. (1975). Sex Male, Gender Masculine. Port Washington, New York: Alfred.

Pollock-Bryne, J. (1990). Women, Prison, and Crime. California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.

Poupore, P. (1990). The Female Offender: What Does the Future Hold? Washington, D. C.: Saint Mary's Press - By the American Correctional Association.

Price, B.; and Sokoloff, N. (1982). The Criminal Justice

System and Women. New York: Clark Boardman Company, Ltd.

Reid, W.; and Smith, A. (1981). Research in Social Work. New York: Columbia University Press.

Robbins, A.; Daniel, A; Reid, J.; and Harry, B. (1986). "Missouri Classification System Applied to Female Offenders Reliability and Validity Issues." Corrective and Social Psychiatry and Journal of Behavior Technology Methods and Therapy, 32 (1).

Rosenberg, M. (1986). Conceiving the Self. Malabar, Florida: R. E. Krieger Publishing Company INC.

Rosenkrantz, L.; and Joshua, V. (1982). "Children of Incarcerated Parents: A Hidden Population." Children Today, January-February 1982.

Shaw, R. (1992). Prisoners Children, What Are the Issues? New York: Routledge.

Sieh, E. (1989). "Prison Overcrowding: The Case of New Jersey." Federal Probation, Vol. 53, No. 3, Sept. 1989.

Simon, R.; and Landis, J. (1991). The Crimes Women Commit, The Punishment They Receive. Mass.: Lexington Books.

Smart, C. (1977). Women, Crime and Criminology. Boston: The Caucer Press.

Steffensmeier, D. (1980). "Assessing the Impact of Women's Movement on Sex-Based Differences In the Handling of Adult Criminal Defendents." Crime and Delinquency 26, no. 3: 344-357.

Stone, J. (1980). A Comparison of Attitudes of Educators and Their Parents and Measured by four constructs associated with Child Abuse. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois.

Virginia State Crime Commission Task Force On: Recidivism and Women's Correctional Issues. Crime Commission Subcommittee Studying HJR429 and HJR422, 1991.

Virginia State Crime Commission's Report On: Special Needs and Conditions of Incarcerated Women. House Document No. 24, Commonwealth of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia, 1993.

Weitzel, S.; and Blount, W. (1982). "Incarcerated Female Felons and Substance Abuse." Journal of Drug Issues, 12 (3) 259-273.

White, T. (1989). "Corrections Out of Balance." Federal Probation, Vol. 53, No. 4, Dec. 1989.

Wylie, R. C. (1961). The Self-Concept (Rev. Ed.) (Vol. 1). Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, pp. 230-236.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

VOLUNTARY INFORMED CONSENT

This study, entitled "An Evaluation of a Program for incarcerated Mothers: Parenting And The Enhancement of Self Esteem", is being conducted by Alvin R. Moore, a doctoral student, Virginia Commonwealth University. The purpose of the study is to determine if the Mothers Inside Loving Kids (MILK) program positively impacts parenting skills and self esteem. Information obtained from this study may be used to help decide if MILK type parenting/visitation programs should be expanded or curtailed within the Department of Corrections.

Participants in this project will be asked to complete a pre-program questionnaire and a post-program questionnaire packet asking about parenting styles and assessing self esteem. Your participation will require approximately two hours. Answers will be available only to researchers, retained in their files, and will be given a code in place of names. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time without prejudice. No risk to the subject is anticipated but some questions may result in mild stress or psychic discomfort.

The researcher will be available to discuss the project's objectives or procedures during or after completion of the questionnaire.

( ) I AGREE to participate in this study.

( ) I DO NOT WISH to participate in this study.

_____ _____

Signature of Participant Date

_____ _____

Witness Date

Appendix B

VOLUNTARY INFORMED CONSENT

This study, entitled "An Evaluation of a Program for incarcerated Mothers: Parenting And The Enhancement of Self Esteem", is being conducted by Alvin R. Moore, a doctoral student, Virginia Commonwealth University. The purpose of the study is to determine if the Mothers Inside Loving Kids (MILK) program positively impacts parenting skills and self esteem. Information obtained from this study may be used to help decide if MILK type programs should be expanded or curtailed within the Department of Corrections.

Participants in this project will be asked to complete a questionnaire packet which asks about parenting styles and assessing self esteem. Your participation will require approximately two hours. Answers will be available only to researchers, retained in their files, and will be given a code in place of names. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time without prejudice. No risk to the subject is anticipated but some questions may result in mild stress or psychic discomfort.

The researcher will be available to discuss the project's objectives or procedures during or after completion the completion of the questionnaire.

( ) I AGREE to participate in this study.

( ) I DO NOT WISH to participate in this study.

_____ _____

Signature of Participant Date

_____ _____

Witness Date

PLEASE NOTE

APPENDICES C-E

are not available at the request of the author.

The appendices are available from the

Cabell Library Special Collections Department

at

Virginia Commonwealth University

Demographics and Background

Appendix

Please answer the following questions by filling in the blank or circling the appropriate response.

① What is your date of birth? _____

② Your race/ethnic group (Circle number below):

1	2	3	4	5	6
African – American	Hispanic/Latino – American	Native American	Asian – American	Caucasian	Other _____ (Please Specify)

③ Are you currently? (Circle number below):

1	2	3	4
Single	Married	Seperated / Divorced	Widowed

④ On the following lines please list your children's (if they are under 18 years old) date of birth, and circle who they currently live with and where. Use back if you have more than eight children under 18.

Child	Date of Birth	Live With		Live Where		
1st		Relative(s)	Non-Relative(s)	Private Home	Foster Home	Other
2nd		Relative(s)	Non-Relative(s)	Private Home	Foster Home	Other
3rd		Relative(s)	Non-Relative(s)	Private Home	Foster Home	Other
4th		Relative(s)	Non-Relative(s)	Private Home	Foster Home	Other
5th		Relative(s)	Non-Relative(s)	Private Home	Foster Home	Other
6th		Relative(s)	Non-Relative(s)	Private Home	Foster Home	Other
7th		Relative(s)	Non-Relative(s)	Private Home	Foster Home	Other
8th		Relative(s)	Non-Relative(s)	Private Home	Foster Home	Other

⑤ How many years of education have you completed? (Circle number below):

0 1 2 3 4 5	6 7 8	9 10 11 12	13 14 15 16	17 18 19 20
Elementary School	Middle School	High School	College	Graduate School

⑥ If you did not complete high school, have you received your GED? (Circle response below):

Yes No

⑦ Have you had a problem with alcohol or drugs? (Circle response below):

Yes No Not Sure

M.I.L.K. Program Survey

Appendix G

This questionnaire is designed to measure the degree of satisfaction you have with the M.I.L.K Program.

For each of the following statements please indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree, or don't know. Use a pen or pencil to mark an X for your response. This is not a test so there are no right or wrong answers.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Disagree Or Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The program selection process is fair to all.					
Participation in the program has improved my outlook on life.					
The training I received in the program provided information I can use in making decisions on a day to day basis.					
I sometimes feel that the program creates a false sense of hope for the mothers in the program.					
Participation in the program has improved my institutional behavior.					
The quality of the program has met my expectations.					
The program has enhanced my relationship with my child(ren).					
As a result of the program I have been able to better resolve conflicts with family or caretaker.					
The program has positively changed my knowledge of child development.					
I have learned new ways of disciplining my child(ren) that I didn't know before that don't involve physical punishment.					
I feel more competent as a parent than I did when I entered the program.					
The program has increased my knowledge of useful services I can turn to when I get out of prison.					
I now understand more about my family and myself.					
The program has helped me function more successfully in the institution.					
The program has meant more involvement with my family while incarcerated than I would have had otherwise.					
Being in the program has given my child(ren) an opportunity to deal with me about my absence from home.					
Since being in the program visits with my child(ren) have been more happy and productive than sad and depressing.					

Criminal History Variables

1. Nature of Current Offense
2. Length of Sentence
3. Proximity to Parole Eligibility
4. Institutional Behavior
5. Number and type of Previous Incarcerations

Vita

Alvin R. Moore was born on August 7, 1951, in Fayetteville, North Carolina, and is an American Citizen. He graduated from Seventy-First High School, Fayetteville, North Carolina, in 1970. He received a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology from Fayetteville State University, Fayetteville, North Carolina in 1975. He subsequently served three years in the United States Army. He received a Master of Arts in Human Relations from Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma, Washington in 1978. Since 1978 he as been with the Virginia Department of Corrections where he serves as an Assistant Warden for Treatment/Programs. He also has served 10 years with the Virginia Department of Mental Health, Mental Retardation and Substance Abuse Services in a part-time consulting capacity.